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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploration of the patterns of consensus and dissensus among the country's leaders in their attitudes, opinions, perceptions, and reservations about social and economic changes through education. It is a case study of a country where the ideas of education playing an important role in modernization is only partially accepted. How do 216 Colombian leaders: 1) evaluate the performance of the educational system as a change agent, 2) make judgments about education -- definitions of problems, solutions, standards, values, perceptions, 3) define development -- integrated, multi-dimensional, one-faceted, 4) integrate the educational system into their concepts of national development, and 5) integrate other institutions, such as foreign agencies, the central government, the Catholic Church, into their concepts of national development? In general, the interview results suggest that the leaders were not able to integrate the educational system into the process of national development. They showed only an incomplete grasp of educational process, the modernization process, or the idea of development; many of their ideas were conditioned by their position in society and special areas of interest; and, they were unable to consider other institutions or the government for integrated roles in development. (SBE)

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EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN COLOMBIA

by Joaquín Páez-Gómez

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FOREWORD

by H. Thomas James

Occasionally a scholar from another country writes so brilliantly about problems and opportunities in his own nation that ours are illuminated. It seems to me that Joaquín Páez-Gómez has done this in his examination of education and national development in Colombia. The influential people he interviewed and the conclusions he drew from their responses to questions related to the role of education in national development reveal a dissatisfaction with the performance of educational systems that seems very pervasive across national boundaries. The tendency to think of elementary and secondary education quite separately from university education seems also pervasive throughout the past century across national boundaries as does the tendency to view elementary and secondary education as irrelevant to modernization. Further the popular expectations of educational systems and inappropriate responses of the educational institutions are similarly pervasive.

This is a remarkably perceptive document and should be useful to nationals in many countries in thinking through some of the fundamental problems related to modernization of education and economic development.

Joaquín Páez-Gómez and his wife, Socorro, hold a unique place in the hearts and minds of the faculty of the School of Education at Stanford who worked with them and know them with affection and esteem. We wish them well.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is not possible to express my deep gratitude to the many people in Colombia and in the United States who have contributed in different ways to the progress of this effort at different stages of the work: though they know I am grateful, they probably do not know the extent to which I feel beholden to them.

My deep thanks go to the team of interviewers, particularly Julio Ponce de León and Agustín Lombana, who worked indefatigably during the data-gathering stage; to Mrs. Clare Galbraith, who prepared the data for computer-processing; and Dr. Arnold Joyal, who read and criticized the manuscript.

I am most grateful to Dean H. Thomas James, Dr. Nathan Maccoby, and Dr. William J. Paisley for their helpfulness and patience. Dr. Paisley provided invaluable methodological assistance, being unstintingly generous with his knowledge, time, and effort during the month he spent in Bogotá helping in the development of the interview schedule and during the year of data analysis. A special acknowledgment is due to Miss Magdalen Rose Sisneros for her dedication at every stage of the research process. To express my gratitude to Generoso J. Gil, Jr., whose contributions to the analysis of the data were such that I consider him to be the brains behind the study, I merely point to his first name, "Generosos." I will always be indebted to him for his invaluable cooperation.

Dr. Robert N. Bush has been my guide and teacher and this work is a testimony to the impact he has had on my professional life. The Ford Foundation provided the support both for my career in education and for this work. The U.S. Office of Education through its research contract with SIDEC has made the publication of this possible.

The inspiration for this work--and my life--have been my wife and daughter. Without Socorro's appreciation, understanding, and assistance, this work would not have been possible. And while Ximena, at this point, may not understand, it is my hope that she will grow up to appreciate it.

Joaquín Páez-Gómez

December 1968
Stanford University

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The present decade has been characterized by an increasing appreciation by scientists and policy makers of the role of education in modernization. This appreciation is reflected in the shift in the definition of education from a consumer expenditure to an investment in human resources.

According to Theodore Schultz [1956 and 1960], the rate of return on capital invested in improving the human factor is probably much greater than that used to increase the stock of reproducible goods. Education is considered a prerequisite for social and economic development [Harbison and Myers 1964:181].

However, most efforts at modernizing education have been characterized by complaints on the one hand that not enough support -- material or otherwise -- has been allocated to this end [Galbraith 1961:44; Svennilson 1962] and by complaints on the other hand that such support as has been made available has been used inefficiently or ineffectively [Harbison 1964:218; Gideonse 1966:185; Illich 1968:57].

Such disagreements may revolve around: (1) the definition of the situation, (2) the specification of ends, i.e., what constitutes modernization, (3) the choice and definition of means, e.g., industrialization, land reform, political reform, educational reform; the priority of one over the other, how they relate to one another functionally, and (4) definition of the norms whereby means are judged efficient and effective.

This pattern of agreement and disagreement may prove to be a constraint on developmental efforts to the extent that the resolution of disagreements involves compromises on plans and priorities, and the dispersion of scarce resources. The efficient allocation of scarce resources depends less on the existence of consensus from the start and more on the presence of a commonly held set of premises such that people of different backgrounds with varying amounts and types of information, if given the facts, can arrive at policy decisions based on a realistic appraisal of the situation, a rigorous definition of problems, and a choice of means that meet these problems efficiently and effectively. This presupposes an open-mindedness that seeks the facts and constantly reviews policies, perceptions, and judgments in the light of incoming information. This open-mindedness is necessary in educational planning, particularly in a situation where the parts of the educational system are poorly integrated with one another and the system itself is poorly articulated with the rest of society (and perhaps too poorly endowed to do very much better in the short run). This open-mindedness becomes even more necessary since the task of educational planning calls for far more than the quantification of students, teachers, and student-teacher-ratios per target year; it must include a redefinition of the qualifications of trained manpower and broad plans for bringing about these changes and may often involve total reform of the educational system.

Purpose of the Study

This study is an exploration of the patterns of consensus and dissensus among participants in the public dialogue on the role of education in modernization, i.e., the attitudes, opinions, perceptions, and reservations of a country's leaders (policy-molders and ratifiers) about social and economic changes through education.

This is a case study of Colombia, where the idea of education playing an important role in modernization seems to be only partially accepted, partly because the idea is new, partly because the roles of other institutions such as the government and the church in the modernization process have not been fully defined.

The present research seeks to answer -- to one extent or another -- the following questions:

(1) How do the Colombian leaders evaluate the performance of the educational system in the modernization process?

The respondents will be described according to their judgments as to: (a) whether education is a force for change; (b) whether change in education is proceeding as fast as change in Colombia in general; and (c) whether education is an asset to society. The distribution of these judgments will be described according to the respondents' positions, e.g., sector of influence; personal attributes, e.g., age, family background; and knowledge and attitudes with respect to recent developments in the economy, government, and education.

(2) What are the perceptions on which these judgments about education were based?

The respondents' (a) definition of the problems, (b) suggested solutions, and (c) standards they use for proposing the problems and/or solutions on the elementary and secondary and on the university levels will be described as well as the relationships among these values and perceptions. The standards applied include the respondents' definitions of the roles education should prepare people for, the orientations they feel education should inculcate, and their definition of education as having primarily a formative or informative function.

(3) How do the Colombian leaders define development?

The respondents will be classified as to: (a) whether they see development as an integrated, multi-dimensional process, or whether they see only one or the other facet of it; (b) whether they emphasize the economic, political, integration, or pattern-maintenance facets of development; (c) which developmental programs they feel should be emphasized in a national plan for Colombian development; and (d) what are the relationships between (b) and (c).

(4) How well are Colombian leaders able to integrate the educational system into their concepts of national development?

The relationships between the respondents' attitudes toward education, the perceptions and standards on which they are based on the one hand and their definitions of development and the types of programs they propose will be traced.

(5) How well are Colombian leaders able to integrate other institutions, such as foreign agencies, the Colombian central government, and the Catholic Church, into their concepts of national development?

The relationship between the respondents' definitions of development and their assignment of economic, political, educational, or welfare roles to foreign agencies, the central government, and the Church on the one hand and their definitions of development on the other, will be discussed.

Significance of the Study

From a theoretical viewpoint, this study will provide clues to guide future studies on the public dialogue on modernization -- consensus and dissensus on the definition of the situation, of ends, of means, and the norms by which ends and means are evaluated in other countries.

From a policy viewpoint, this study hopefully will provide Colombian leaders with some basis for assessing (1) the probable success of various educational reforms now being introduced in Colombia, (2) the degree of acceptance which such measures have and will have as determined by the participants in the public dialogue, (3) the common criteria concerning the pressing educational needs of the country as well as the priorities already established and any resulting ones, (4) the probable active participation of those sectors seemingly unrelated to the educational endeavors of the country, (5) the role of each of these sectors as they work toward a common goal, (6) the possibility of introducing other programs with far-reaching results, and in general, education's total contribution to Colombian development.

CHAPTER II

COLOMBIA: THE ENVIRONMENT, THE PEOPLE, ITS INSTITUTIONS

The Geography and the Economy

Colombia, with an area of 1,138,338 square kilometers (459,516 square miles) is located in the far northwest of South America. Most of its 17.5 million people live in the western two-fifths of the country, in the Andean mountain and valley regions where the population density ranges from 219 per square kilometer in the department of Atlantico to 16 in the department of Boyaca. Less than two per cent of the people live in the remaining three-fifths of the country, which is predominantly pasture land and jungle. Here, the population density decreases to .11 per square kilometer in the Comisaría del Amazonas and to .10 in the Comisaría del Vichada [Dane 1966c:11-12].

Six rather well defined socioeconomic regions are significant in terms of population and resources, each with a major urban center. The regions are: (1) Cundinamarca, Tolima, and Boyaca (with Bogotá as the center), (2) the department of Antioquia (Medellín), (3) Valle del Cauca (Cali), (4) Atlantic coastal region (Barranquilla), (5) the departments of Caldas, Quindío, and Risaralda (Manizales), and (6) the Santanderes (Bacaramanga). Bogotá is economically and demographically less important in relation to the rest of the country, than are other capital cities in most other Latin American countries.[1]

With a birth rate of 3.2 per cent a year, the Colombian population now doubles every 22 years [DANE 1966a:13], which holds down substantial increases in the per capita standard of living. The population remains a young one, with 43 per cent of Colombians under the economically active age of 15 [DANE 1965:6].

For many reasons, such as acceleration of industrialization, increase of commerce, increase of governmental programs, spread of modern communications, modernization of agricultural techniques, and displacement into the cities of farmers escaping the "violencia," Colombia has changed from a rural to a quasi-urban country [Lannoy and Perez 1961:87-89].[2]

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[1] Perú, for example, with a population of around three-fourths that of Colombia, has a capital of approximately the same number of inhabitants and only three cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, one of which, Callao, could properly be considered a part of Lima. Colombia, on the other hand, has, besides Bogotá, two other cities with much more than one-half million inhabitants (Medellín and Cali),

The agricultural sector has been described by Father Gustavo Jiménez, S.J., who pointed out that satisfactory levels of efficiency through the use of certain advanced techniques have been achieved but only by the rich landowners. The predominant characteristics of agriculture in Colombia are inefficiency, uneconomic use of the land, and the low standard of living of the small proprietor and of the laborer. The small land owners who grow coffee generally enjoy some economic security and, in a few regions, have become a middle class with a standard of living superior to that of the average Colombian farmer. Elsewhere, however, the agricultural techniques date back to the early or precolonial era.

Ignorance, lack of credit, lack of access to the market, and lack of organization aggravate the problems of the small farmer who rarely is in a position to take advantage of technical assistance, and in general, agricultural programs sponsored by governmental agencies [Jiménez Cadena 1967:69-71].

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one other city (Barranquilla) with the population of one-half million, three with more than 200,000, and nine cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

Cities and respective population include:

Bogotá D.E.	1,697,311	Cúcuta	175,336
Medellín	772,887	Ibagué	163,661
Cali	637,929	Armenia	137,222
Barranquilla	498,301	Montería	126,329
Cartagena	242,085	Ciénaga	113,143
Bacaramanga	229,748	Pasto	112,876
Manizales	221,916	Palmira	104,889
Pereira	188,365	Santa Marta	104,471

(Data based on 1964 Census.)

[2] According to the data of the 13th Census, 53.4% of the Colombian population live in nuclei having a population of 1,500 or more inhabitants [DANE 1966b:5]. Using cities of more than 20,000 as the definition of urban, the Economic Commission for Latin America estimated that 26.8% of Colombians were urbanized in 1955 and that almost 36.5% would be so by 1965 [Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Planeación 1961-62:Parte I, 256].

The most obvious single difficulty that Colombia faces is its great dependence on coffee exports for the foreign exchange it requires for development.

Over the past ten years, the country has made great strides toward self-sufficiency in consumer goods. The textile industry is of particular importance in Colombia.[3] In the basic industries, significant advances have been made in petrochemistry, particularly in the field of fertilizers and other ammonia-based enterprises. The country's lone steel mill has played an increasingly important role in supplying the needs of the light industries which are developing at a fast rate. In spite of the substantial rate of growth, however, poverty and unemployment are still widespread.[4]

The Polity

Colombia is a centralized republic divided administratively in departments, intendencias, and comisarías (territories). The pattern of centralization -- and the paternalistic manner in which power is exercised -- date back to the institutions established during the colonial era. The President has great authority under the constitution. He has the authority to appoint and dismiss the cabinet members, ambassadors, governors of the departments, as well as the directors of the Decentralized Institutes. By the same token, the governors have the power to appoint and dismiss the mayors. Even though the Departmental Assemblies are elective, their powers are primarily administrative, and the governor has the right of absolute veto over their actions [Art. 194 of the Constitution]. Under the constitution, the President also is the highest official and director of education, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Moreover, he very often must mediate national or local disputes, e.g., students', teachers', or bank clerks' strikes. To maintain public order, the President can rule through decree and suspend any legislation incompatible with the state of siege [Art. 121 of the Constitution].

The National Congress has been accused from time to time of immobility, dilatory actions, absenteeism, and negativism. Since residence in a region is not a qualification for representing it in Congress, party tickets are packed with national figures who are thought to be sure winners. Each such "sure" winner is paired with a lesser-known, even unknown, figure designated as his alternate, who rides on the former's coattails. If elected, the nationally-known personality -- who never intended to serve in the first place -- yields his seat to the alternate. Congressmen are responsible primarily to the political directorates instead of to their electorate. Popular participation in the electoral process and in the making of decisions seems meaningless and the relationship of the electroate toward those elected often becomes one of submissive dependency, seeking favors and paternalistic protection.

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[3] The textile industry, together with the garment industry, accounts for 26.6% of the personnel dedicated to the national manufacturing industry [DANE 1966c:42].

[4] The gross national product per capita stands at a low U.S. $263 [Russett and Alker, Jr., Deutsch, Lasswell 1964].

The powers of the executive notwithstanding, the government has found it difficult to enforce the laws. Insecurity still reigns in certain public sectors; burglary and robbery, smuggling and tax evasion are common.

Public services are still rather deficient, and even more so in the area of education. National planning is resisted on the individual and regional levels. The social and economic programs sponsored by the National Transformation Front have not yet substantially involved the peasant or the worker. The general public, due, in part, to ignorance, deficient communications, political weaknesses, economic conditions, and social attitudes, has little knowledge of national problems and less interest in national well-being. The government is a remote entity which imposes obligations and limitations but does not inspire strong loyalty. Though the great efforts of Dr. Carlos Lleras Restrepo's administration have won a high degree of general confidence, this confidence appears to be more personal than institutional. The Colombian, in general, faces too many of his own problems to identify his personal well-being with that of the nation, or to consider among his responsibilities active participation in national development.

The two-party system dates back about as far as the nation of Colombia itself. The Colombian political parties are "polyclass" factions dividing society vertically. Factional sentiments are more powerful than convictions derived from careful study of party ideologies. Intolerance has characterized factional rivalry, especially in the towns and in the "veredas."[5] People who decide their votes on the basis of personal or philosophical agreement with party platforms are few and far between. Factional identification is often more important than programs.

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[5] The "vereda" is not an administrative subdivision. Traditionally, the rural areas have been divided into sections consisting of a certain number of individuals who inhabit a particular area. Although the limits have not been officially stated, every peasant is very well acquainted with the boundary lines of his vereda. Within the territory which comprises each municipio are included several veredas [Fals Borda 1957:183ff.].

The assassination of the popular Liberal leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, on April 9, 1948, triggered what is known as "la era de la violencia" [the era of violence], a long period of civil disorder during which armed bands -- which were as likely to turn upon each other -- terrorized the countryside. The violence, shorn of the ideological basis of the struggle, then went out of control. This situation was further aggravated by the upsurge of brigandage and banditry, which became "easy" and, in certain places, the only occupation for both the opportunistic and the dispossessed.[6]

The military government, headed by General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, which came into power with the coup of June 13, 1953, partially succeeded in putting a stop to the conflict. A few guerilla bands still operate today in a few isolated areas.

The National Front developed from the coalition of the two parties to overthrow the military dictatorship and to establish a period of "political convalescence" during which the belligerents were to be educated in the arts of political compromise and the acceptance of the legitimacy of opposition [Porqué y Cómo 1959]. The truce, ratified by the 1957 plebiscite, called for presidential alternation between the two parties during a period of twelve years,[7] parity of representation in all the branches of government, and the requirement of a two-thirds vote for approval of decisions made by public corporations. The National Front, in its short life, has encountered many problems. The major difficulty appears to be intra-party factionalism which has greatly hindered governmental action on social reform, economic development, and wider popular involvement.

Since the fall of the Rojas Pinilla dictatorship, the armed forces have been, through their pacifying task, regaining the country's confidence. The army has started to create a new image -- by quelling violence not only by direct military action but also through its civic-action programs aimed at ameliorating the social conditions that are the root cause of violence. By drafting people in the rural areas for two-year periods and, in effect, giving them the only educational opportunities that these draftees would have after dropping out of grade school, the army has within its grasp a great opportunity for developing a cadre of trained, active, and confident change agents to work within the rural setting. In many cases, unfortunately, the military experience does not prepare the draftees to assume a very significant role either in the rural areas or in the cities. Nevertheless, there are signs of a growing tendency in the army to consider itself as a disinterested promoter of national change [Ruiz Novoa 1965:94-95].

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[6] For more information on "la era de la violencia," see: [Guzmán, Fals Borda y Luna 1962; González S.J. 1962; Franco Isaca 1955; Williamson 1965; Hobsbawn 1963; Guillén Martínez 1963].

[7] On September 15, 1959, Congress approved the constitutional reform which extended the period of alternation and parity until 1974.

The Catholic Church

The Catholic Church remains one of the basic institutions for Colombian society, though it was a devisive factor during the years when anti-clericalism was a major policy of the Liberal Party. The Church's partisan identification is diminishing. This is due partly to the disappointment of some Conservative leaders in the Church acceptance of the coup d'etat and the diminishing anti-clericalism of the Liberals. Moreover, both Liberals and Conservatives are anxious to maintain religious peace. With the passing of time, the Church seems to be drawing away from the political arena more and more and assuming a role of peacemaker and political mediator. At the same time, it is beginning to focus its action on social reform.[8]

Most observers agree that the Church's key advantage lies in its influence in the rural areas where the parish priest is likely to be the most educated and respected person and thus can act as a mediator between the village and the outside world. As such, the priest acts as a ratifier as well as an integrator of innovations within the local community.

Though many priests are interested in social action, their efforts are often characterized by the following: (1) paternalism or authoritarianism, (2) inattention to long-range solutions, (3) more emphasis given to certain economic progress of the peasant within the present socioeconomic and political structure than to changes of the structure itself, and (4) a strong streak of parochialism[9] in the definition of community problems [Jiménez Cadena 1967:274-75].

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[8] The social conservatism of the Church is explained hypothetically by Father Jiménez as based on the relative well-being of the Church, the high degree of prestige which the clergy enjoys, the privileges provided by the constitution and the concordat, plus other special concessions. All these have tended to create a feeling of security and satisfaction which in turn reinforces this conservatism. Also, due to the fact that the Church has enjoyed so many previous successes within the system there seems to be no real need to introduce any structural changes in the sociopolitical order [Jiménez Cadena 1967:94].

The Church has the potential to channel the forces for social transformation in such a way that an evolution rather than a revolution takes place. The danger lies with those clergy who, satisfied with the relative success of the Church within the present system, could, through their influence, oppose certain changes in the political and socioeconomic structure, changes which are consistent with the social doctrine of the Church itself.

Social Structure

The two social classes have traditionally been recognized: the "have's" and the "have-not's." For the former, the technical term "oligarchy" -- without the pejorative connotation -- may be applied in the sense that this small minority is a self-perpetuating one in control of the powers and resources of the society, without any real accountability to it.[10] Nonetheless, political competition is not excluded. Describing the role of this minority as a rule by a modernizing elite, Dix has characterized Colombian modernization as a limited one, undertaken to transform the nation by an elite substantially traditional in origin, such that the ruling class is enabled to retain for itself the essential levers of power. Dix sees this process, which started in 1934 with the "Revolución en Marcha" of Alfonso López Pumarejo, as the single Latin American case of defensive modernization.

There is a shift from the aristocracy based on family name to one based on money, and the growing influence of a new group of "technocrats" -- men whose principal claim to recognition is their technical or administrative skill -- is being felt. Though membership in the oligarchy is still a virtual sine qua non for achieving a major political role, there are a growing number of instances where ascribed status has to yield to achieved status. Mobility, both into and out of the ruling class, has been known to take place.

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[9] The priest does not relate community problems to the national ones nor does he take into account their historical and cultural roots. He is not aware that many basic solutions have to be implemented on a regional or national basis and depend on decisions made at the appropriate supra-community levels.

[10] In this section, ideas presented by Dix [1967:42-73] are followed.

It cannot be said, of course, that the "have-not's" are just a mass of poverty-stricken individuals. There is a portion of the population without the qualifications to be part of the ruling class which differs significantly from the masses. Occupation would seem to be the differentiating factor: professionals, clergymen, white collar employees, government bureaucrats and clerks, technicians, sales and managerial personnel of private firms, businessmen and some farmers (especially in Antioquia and the territory of the old Department of Caldas) would fall into this category.

This sector of society has always existed, but merely as an appendage of the upper class. The middle sectors of Colombian society for the most part lack a sense of identity and a sense of pride in their own status; rather, their burning ambition has been to become part of the upper class, to share their style of life, and to enjoy the same privileges of leisure, ascribed status, inherited wealth, and power.

Thus, though the middle sectors may exhibit behavior which springs from a stress on achievement, competence, risk-taking and other "middle-class" values, they are more or less apologetic about it, defining these traits, their behavior, and their way of life as not really being the ideal state of affairs but merely part of the unpleasant things they must do in order to move to the ruling class. The Colombian middle sectors do not quite realize the importance of the middle class' political participation as a class "in and for itself" in the development of the plans for economic and social change nor do they have an appreciation of the impact that their middle-class roles and values could have on national development.

With their high levels of aspirations and their relatively low salaries, their lot is a difficult one. To them, the most important thing, next to their status and that of their children, is to assert and maintain their difference from the lower classes. Thus, education (and, to a certain degree, housing), which differentiates the man of the middle sectors from his lower-class cousin, becomes of supreme importance. Parents invest a considerable amount of their income in education; not only university education (which is beyond the income of many) and secondary education but elementary education, since the government has not been able to provide the manpower, funds, and facilities to comply with the constitutional provision of free and compulsory instruction. High rents constitute another major strain on middle-class salaries.

Dix believes that the elite still has the opportunity to grant the middle sectors a large share of political leadership, with little likelihood of endangering its position. Such co-optation is facilitated by the middle sectors' greater concern for an extension of opportunity than for equality which would narrow the gap between them and the lower classes.

The so-called "clases populares" constitute a majority of the population which hitherto has been characterized by a servile and dependent attitude toward the upper classes. This is changing significantly.[11]

A new type of peasantry, a new type of city-dweller, and a new type of worker have developed: people who have begun to discover the power of belligerence in a country which has denied them participation and is only now beginning to take into account (and this, with a great deal of hesitation) those socioeconomic issues vital to them. There is a sense of frustration that could be channeled constructively into a "big push" to overthrow the system.

The rule of the elite, according to Dix [1967:413] has so far failed to cope, and may in the future well be unable to cope with the deeper social and political implications of modernization. In particular, the system has failed to solve the "crisis of participation,"[12] other than at the formal level of voting (and even so, with some qualifications). The traditional parties have failed to adjust their own internal structures and patterns of recruitment to a politics where socioeconomic issues are central, where local and national issues are optimally "blended," and where the lower and middle classes are at least potentially participant. The institutional channels through which the interests of the non-elite groups may be articulated and aggregated have remained underdeveloped as have the institutional channels through which the political system might respond to these demands. Lack of change within the traditional political structure has led to a situation where the political system's extractive, allocative, regulative, symbolic, and responsive capabilities are proving to be more and more inadequate. The "crisis of participation" has its roots in the "crisis of penetration":[13] there are many Colombians today with the ability, willingness, and desire to participate in the political system but the existing political structure gives most of them neither a role nor the opportunity to develop one.

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[11] For more information on the subject see: [Fals Borda 1956, 1959, 1960; Jiménez Cadena 1967; Pérez Ramírez 1959; Havens and Romieux 1966; Parra Sandoval 1966].

[12] The participation crisis occurs when there is uncertainty over the appropriate rate of popular political participation. This takes place when greater numbers of people who hitherto had not thought it right to try to influence government decisions, now think they have the right to do so and demand that their interests be taken into account. The influx of new participants creates serious strains on the existing institutions. As new segments of the population are brought into the political process, new interests and new issues begin to arise so that the continuity of the old polity is broken and there is the need to reestablish the entire structure of political relations [Pye 1966:65].

Without the development of more effective institutional links between the elite and the masses and the involvement of a broader segment of the population in the costs, decisions, and rewards of development, the best intentions and the best leadership skills of a modernizing elite might well prove unequal to the tasks of change.

Education

Education in Colombia marks the dividing line between the masses on the one hand and the upper class and the middle sectors on the other. Like all dividing lines, it can be either a bridge or barrier to individual advancement and, in the case of many, a good case can be made that it has proved to be more barrier than bridge. The constitutional history of the country has inculcated in the people the conviction, that every citizen has the right -- and by implication, the opportunity -- to gain an entree into the affluent portion of their society through the portals of the school.

However, 37 per cent of the population over fifteen are still illiterate [DANE 1965:206]. Illiteracy is more pronounced in the rural areas where the figure stands at 49 per cent [ibid.] and many of those said to be literate can be considered as such only by a prodigious stretch of the imagination when one considers that they have had only one or two years of primary education. Approximately one-third of all Colombian children do not enter school at all and of those who do get to start, only 16 per cent reach the fifth grade. Only eight per cent will enter secondary school and less than two per cent will finish.

Put in other terms, only one out of a hundred Colombian children will finish high school and, of these, only one in six will earn a university degree [Bortolazzo and Perez 1966:4].

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[13] A dominant characteristic of transitional societies is the gap between the world of the ruling elite and that of the masses. The penetration crisis involves the problems of government in reaching down into the society and effecting basic policies. The penetration problem is that of building up the effectiveness of the formal institutions by government and of establishing confidence and rapport between rulers and subjects [Pye 1966:64].

> The great gap is between those with elementary education and those with secondary education. People in these two groups live in different worlds. Notwithstanding the efforts to bridge -- through education -- the gap between these two worlds, the gap grows wider every day [Illich 1968:51].

The critical problems of Colombian education have been outlined by Julio Bortolazzo [1966:4-10] under the following principal categories: (1) the high dropout rate; (2) the lack of qualified and trained teachers; (3) the lack of adequate national and departmental studies on manpower needs and resources; (4) lack of professional and technical personnel to fill the immediate demands; (5) the low capability of the educational system to meet the national needs for trained manpower; (6) the problems related to the high school graduate and his higher educational needs; (7) unnecessary duplication of costly university training programs, and lack of cooperation between the universities, SENA,[14] and other educational institutions; (8) lack of administrative policies with regard to the size of classes and the number of instruction hours per week; (9) the proliferation of universities and their repercussions on higher education in Colombia.

The complex picture of the educational situation may be completed by adding the qualitative deficiencies of teaching methods and course content.

According to Fals Borda [1967:36],

> The Colombia of today, as in other periods of the past, is a way of life which encounters many obstacles towards rational explanation. In spite of that, its contrasts hide a particular enchantment: the stimulus of the unexpected or the incitement of temerity, within the antique patterns which are slowly losing their strength and those new developing ones which set out to counteract the influence of the former. It is a dynamic life, of rapid change, in which are blended the past, the present, and even part of the future.

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[14] SENA: Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The elite in Colombia is the key group who, through its decisions, directly and indirectly determine the national goals, define the means to achieve these goals, and establish these means and goals in some hierarchical order of priority. The people who comprise this segment of society have assumed the role of directing national development. Their decisions, and the perceptions and attitudes that determine these decisions, presently condition the priority assigned to education as a means toward modernization.

How then, does the Colombian elite perceive education in the context of their definition of national development? What methods does it consider appropriate to achieve national development? What are the standards by which it judges these methods as efficient and effective?

People within the group vary in their backgrounds, having different positions, different responsibilities, and different interests which presumably affect to one degree or another their perceptions and value judgments. A delineation of patterns of consensus and dissensus thus involves the mapping of differences of knowledge, opinion, values, and value judgments both within and between subgroups of the Colombian elite.

For the purpose of mapping out the phenomenon and locating it within a population, a survey is clearly most appropriate. A narrower definition of the variables of interest would have been desirable but, in the absence of a significant body of previous research on the problem and on the population, this was not feasible.

The data were gathered by personal interview. The interview involved approximately one hour of direct interchange between interviewer and interviewee, the latter responding to a series of open-ended questions.

The choice of an interview over a self-administered questionnaire was dictated by the impersonal connotation of the latter, the desire to be certain that it was actually the desired respondent (and not his secretary) who answered the questions and the desire to reach as large a proportion as possible of the target population. This, of course, raised the problem of getting the respondents to fit the interview hour within their already crowded schedules.

The choice of an open-ended interview schedule was dictated by the nature of the study itself, in the realization that national development should be defined empirically within the study, each respondent stating what national development means to him -- changes in the nation that are primarily economic, political, social, individual-psychological, or whatever. Each definition -- perhaps normative, perhaps idiosyncratic -- provides a context for interpreting attitude toward education and other forces in society.

Various structured approaches, including preference rankings, attitudes scales, and direct tests of knowledge were considered. Nevertheless, given the knowledgeability, articulateness, and authoritativeness of the persons to be interviewed and the desire to obtain very rich data, the structured approach was ruled out.

The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule[15] deals in section A with Colombian values and foreign influences. In answering these three questions, the respondent generally reveals his attitude toward traditional Colombian society, his openness to innovation from outside, his sophistication in qualifying what should and should not be accepted, and his proclivity toward social, political, ethical, economic, or other systems of value in nominating a traditional value to preserve and a value to adopt.

Section B is a disguised test of knowledge. It was possible to attempt a qualification of attitude on the basis of the knowledge and breadth of awareness that stands behind it, but it is apparent in other studies that direct test of knowledge strains rapport between respondent and interviewer. Hence the format, "If a foreign visitor were to ask about _______________, what developments would you specially want to tell him about?" Some respondents disclaim any knowledge of development, while others answer superficially and others mention specific, recent developments of probable interest to the foreign visitor. This is not an ideal way to test knowledge of development in the several sectors, but it seems to be the best way for a study such as this. By special coding of responses from Section B, it was possible to augment measures of attitude as well, since there is a definite positive or negative bias in the way some respondents report developments to the foreign visitor.

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[15] See Appendix for the English version of the Interview Schedule.

The question B1 ["Here are some questions about national development in Colombia. First, when you discuss Colombian national development, what changes in the nation are you primarily thinking about?"] is most important. This is the respondent's opportunity to tell what national development means to him. Other questions, especially C2 ["Perhaps you've already told me this in your previous comments, but do you have any 'philosophy of development' that guided you in choosing among these programs?"], help to elaborate his point of view.

Section C measures priorities in programs of development. The structured question C1 requires the respondent to choose only four programs of development from a list of eight,[16] all of which are quite important in the literature on the subject. It was assumed that each respondent's set of choices will be interpretable in terms of his position, his definition of national development (static), and his "philosophy of national development" (dynamic), in the context of other variables. The need for a question such as C2, concerning the respondent's "philosophy of national development," was a fortunate discovery of pretesting. It was found that respondents, as they mused over C1, were explaining and justifying their choices. These explanations and justifications ranged in quality from a simple reiteration of their choices to the articulation of "process theories" of development that made sense and helped to explain their choices and the priority in which they arranged them.

Section D deals with the proper role in Colombian national development of "foreign influences," of the Colombian central government, and the Catholic Church. This section was originally much longer, with separate treatment of UNESCO, the foundations, and foreign governments. The resulting interview schedule was overly long, and it was discovered in the pretest that most respondents did not distinguish between international organizations, bilateral assistance organizations, and private philanthropic organizations. It was decided to consolidate all such organizations into one question, the D1 question, which asked the respondent to define the proper role of such "foreign influences." A sophisticated respondent was free to make the distinctions if he chose to do so, and such perceived differences became useful data.

Section E concentrates on educational issues, both general and specific. The answers to those questions were combined to form indices on education as it is and as it might be in Colombia.

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[16] Economic development, agricultural development, elementary education, secondary education, university education, public works, public health and nutrition, and political reform

In question F1 ["Those are all the attitude questions I have. Please let me ask you this also, however. We wish to be certain that we do not overlook in our study any Colombians or non-Colombians in positions of leadership or influence. Would you be good enough to name five people in responsible positions with whom you sometimes discuss national development in Colombia?"], both for possible sociometric analysis and for improvement of the sample, the interview schedule asks for names of other persons in positions of responsibility with whom the respondent sometimes discusses national development.

The three questions of Section G cover all the personal data that the researcher felt should be asked, although additional personal information is gleaned from other sources.

Through careful content analysis of responses, the interview schedule permitted a rigorous quantitative resolution. Although this was not apparent to the respondent nor obtrusive in the interview, questions were interrelated deliberately to form scales and indices that were used in the analysis.

Construction of a Bilingual Interview Schedule

Although 84 per cent of the sample is Colombian and Spanish-speaking, the remaining 16 per cent is non-Colombian and somewhat more disposed to speak English than Spanish. Therefore, parallel Spanish and English versions of the interview schedule were needed. A high degree of parallelism is necessary for valid comparison of responses between Colombians and non-Colombians. The problem of parallelism was taken seriously. Four bilingual scholars, none otherwise associated with the project, were utilized.

There are various ways to define parallelism in documents in two languages. Isomorphism is possible; that is, every word in one schedule can be replaced by its nearest equivalent in the other language. Unfortunately, such matching on denotations does not take into account the connotative appropriateness or inappropriateness of the string of words in the other language. A different definition of parallelism was chosen: two versions of the same question are parallel, regardless of words used, if they evoke the same response tendency. The judges of equivalence were the four bilinguals.

The first version of the interview schedule was written in English. After pretesting (on non-Colombians working in Colombia) and some revision, a provisional Spanish translation was prepared. Then the bilinguals were assembled, both versions of each question read, and the closest possible equivalence was negotiated. In several instances the jury was not satisfied until major changes were made in the wording of one version or the other.

The Choice of the Respondents

Two hundred and sixteen Colombian influentials were interviewed. These 216 respondents are not considered to be a sample of the Colombian elite. Rather, the target population is presumed to be the universe of Colombian influentials. The 216 respondents thus comprise a universe with some missing members.

The term "influential" is meant to refer to those persons able to influence educational policies, either because they make decisions or because their intellectual, religious, political, military, or socio-economic prestige gives them a voice in educational matters.

The influentials included both Colombians and non-Colombians active in education, business, government, the Church, armed forces, and other fields. The basic methods for identifying influentials that have been used in studies of community and national power structures are the reputational, positional, and decision-participation approaches. Each of these methods has some well recognized inadequacies. None forecloses the probability that some key figures might be omitted and in their place individuals of lesser importance be included.[17] Since in actual operation these methods tend to overlap and none lends itself to unequivocal and easily reproducible selection procedures it was decided to combine the positional with the reputational method, using the former as a basis. That particular position allows for a clearer identification of such individuals.

The first step involved constructing a basic list of more than 300 leaders with the assistance of four persons who were felt to be very important and influential in their own right. Incidentally, these four persons subsequently received the greatest number of choices in the sociogram. Refinement of the choice of prospective interviewees was a continuous process: as soon as each interview was completed, the respondent's suggestions as to who else should be interviewed were recorded. Any individual nominated five times was immediately asked for an interview. Six influentials were identified in this way. About 20 individuals occupying middle-level positions, who were originally on the list of prospective respondents, were not interviewed because their inclusion on the list was not confirmed by even a single nomination. Although the President of the Republic was mentioned a considerable number of times and was originally included in the list, he was not contacted since his time was rather limited, because it was impossible to give his interview any special consideration in the data analysis, and finally, because it was possible to interview his closest collaborators. A few leaders were either out of the country or impossible to contact. The ambassadors declined to be interviewed for diplomatic reasons. It was not feasible to interview the Defense Minister and generals currently on active duty, but a number of retired generals were interviewed.

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[17] For a concise presentation of the arguments pro and con in this methodological controversy, see American Sociological Review [1962:838-54].

A total number of 220 interviews were conducted. For reasons beyond the control of either the interviewer or the interviewee, four interviews were not completed during the scheduled appointment and it was not possible to reschedule them. Thus, a total of 216 interviews was actually completed and usable.

Since the projected number of interviews was originally set at 200, the number of interviews finally acquired is a credit to the efforts made by the team of interviewers who conducted interviews in Bogotá (60 per cent), Cali (9 per cent), Manizales (7 per cent), Barranquilla, Bacuramanga, and Medellín (6 per cent each), Pasto (4 per cent), and Tunja (2 per cent).

The respondents were then divided in five categories according to that sector of society in which they exercise influence: economy, government, Church, education, and others. The economic influentials included the presidents of business, industrial, trade associations, and chambers of commerce, and the presidents of the largest industrial companies, insurance companies, and banks.

The political influentials included cabinet ministers, members of the Congress, the Council of State, and the Supreme Court, directors and division heads of ministries, governors and their "cabinets," mayors, members of city councils, leaders of political parties and politicians not formally active in political life but generally recognized as influentials.

Those interviewed from the religious sphere included the Cardinal and several priests who are directors of church-related organizations.

Among the interviewees from the educational sector were university presidents and vice presidents, provosts, deans and professors, principals of the most prestigious high schools, and presidents of national educational and cultural associations.

Thirty-four respondents who fitted in none of the above categories were assigned to the residual category, "Other." Retired generals, newspapermen, writers, and artists were assigned to this category.

The foreigners interviewed were the representatives of private philanthropic foundations, bilateral assistance organizations, and international organizations, directors of university missions, and cultural attaches, consuls, and some educators.

Gathering the Data

The interviewers were ten graduate students in sociology and psychology, the best students in their classes at Javeriana University in Bogotá. Interviewers were randomly assigned to respondents (who had been stratified by area of influence) so as to minimize bias from an over- or under-representation of any one sector in an interviewer's subsample and other forms of interviewer bias. All ten of the interviewers undertook their jobs with maximum dedication and responsibility. The high position of the respondents and the sometimes difficult task of acquiring certain interviews presented a challenge which together with a good stipend served to maintain a very high level of motivation. Personal friendships held by some of the interviewers and their families served as an excellent means of obtaining certain interviews which otherwise might have been inaccessible. A limited number of interviews were completed by the author. Such prestigious individuals as the cabinet ministers and his Eminence the Cardinal, although unlikely to accept graduate-student interviewers, were felt likely to be more agreeable to an interview by a university professor.

One interviewer was equally fluent in English and Spanish. She was responsible for most of the English-speaking respondents. She was prepared to interview in either language, according to the respondent's preference.

Two training sessions were held for the interviewers. The first session introduced them to all materials and procedures. Then they practiced using the schedule by interviewing each other. The second session was held after they had completed their first interviews with respondents in the sample. A general meeting was held each week throughout the ten weeks of interviewing to attempt to resolve problems which the interviewers might have encountered. These meetings also served to maintain a high morale even in the face of certain frustrating situations such as change of appointment time due to the apparent mobility of the interviews, for reasons of "fuerza mayor," in the appointment book of very busy people.

The first "real" interviews also stood as a formal pretest of the study. As expected, the extensive informal pretesting that took place earlier drew the researcher's attention to defective questions before this phase, and the formal pretest uncovered no problems that a simple change in interviewer's inflection could not remedy.

A ten-week period was devoted solely to interviewing: from August 21 to October 27, 1967. The team of interviewers was able to travel to several of the key cities throughout Colombia, especially during the vacation period provided by "Semana Javeriana."

In general, it can be said that the greatest difficulty encountered in the course of the project was scheduling the interview itself, i.e., fitting the interview hour into the busy schedules of the selected influentials. Appointments were often very hard to obtain due to previous unpleasant experiences with such interviews. Over the past few years, there have been a number of research studies conducted in Colombia in the course of which a number of the influentials in this sample were interviewed, either as informants or as actual members of the sample. To such busy people, interviews had come to be regarded as unjustified impositions (and therefore, unwelcome) because none of them had ever been informed afterwards of the results of the studies in which they had participated.

The growing negative attitude toward such interviews was summed up in the complaint of one of the influentials interviewed: "I am convinced that Colombia is the country whose people have been quizzed the most."

Apart from the problem -- common to all survey research -- of not reaching everybody in the sample, it is gratifying to report that the other serious problem encountered, once an interview was granted, was that of terminating it. Once the respondent had warmed up to the subject, he had a great desire to go on and expound his views on development beyond the points raised in the interview. This was particularly true of influentials outside the educational sphere (especially businessmen) who are generally considered to be uninterested in educational problems. Many of them, in fact, have a great personal interest in education and have many good ideas on the roots of these problems and the possible solutions. However, since they are not consulted on such matters nor given any other encouragement to participate in the discussion of educational problems, many have come to feel a certain degree of alienation from the educational sphere. For some people, the interview was the first time that an organized attempt was made to solicit their authoritative opinions and, this, by itself, motivated their enthusiastic participation.

Coding and Preparation for Analysis

Codes were developed for all but the structured responses and reliability tests were run on every coding task to which coders' judgment could lead to disagreement. Several codes, e.g., the questions on the role of education, respondents' philosophy of development, the roles for which education should be preparing people, and the meaning of the term, "well-educated," passed through several versions before satisfactory reliability (.85) could be obtained. Diagnosis of faulty codes was facilitated through the use of Parker and Funkhouser's "random-systematic-error coefficient" [1968]. Coding was carried out by a four-man team headed by the project director. The codes developed were based on Talcott Parsons' general systems model as adapted by Karl Deutsch and his associates [Deutsch 1964; see also Mitchell 1967; Parsons 1963; Parsons and Bales 1955; Parsons and Shils 1962; Parsons and Smelser 1956]. The coding scheme is presented in the Appendix.

Because the interviewees did not constitute a sample but a population with some missing members, it was considered more appropriate to use non-parametric statistics. The fact that only nominal scales could be used on much of the data dictated the use of chi-square, which was used throughout.

All data were transferred to punched cards and processed on the Stanford 360/67 computer.

CHAPTER IV

AN APPROACH TOWARD DEVELOPMENT

Development as a Multidimensional Concept

There are many valid definitions of development. Some people conceive of development primarily in economic terms. Others give a primarily political definition, thinking of it in terms of a stable government, or political freedom, or a strong state. Still others insist that there is no development without a higher level of values and culture. And still others maintain that the test of development is its impact upon individuals, families and households: development is meaningless unless it means good jobs and higher levels of health, housing, and welfare -- in short, higher standards of living (and implicitly, the motivations to attain and maintain these higher standards of living).

Any definition of the role of education -- and, for that matter, any force in the society -- in the process of development must therefore be taken in the context of people's differing definitions.

This researcher did not adopt *a priori* a single definition of development. Had he done so, he would face the problem of deciding how to treat perceptions, attitudes, and recommendations based on different and not necessarily invalid definitions of development. Instead, he has tried to synthesize the most frequent definitions of development into a definition broad enough to subsume most definitions given by the respondents.

There are many contexts in which the term "development" has been used, e.g., a child developing into an adult, a small college developing into a great university, a feudal society developing into an industrial power, a nation developing into an empire.

Common to all these different ways of using the term "development" is the premise that the object to which the term is applied must have some "innate" capacity that can be improved. In the case of human beings, this is the capacity to do what they want to do (or think they should do); in the case of institutions, this capacity is the capacity to perform more efficiently and more effectively those functions that they either actually perform or were meant to perform [Viner 1964: esp. 7].

Used as an attribute, "development" implies a high level of achievement relative to potential: high levels of capability, efficiency, and effectiveness. It frequently connotes a situation where the level of performance achieved is so high that further achievement relative to potential is not only possible, but facilitated. A "developed" person, group, or institution is capable not only of surviving but also of achieving more. In this respect, the test of development is whether further achievement relative to potential is self-sustaining.

"Development" is also used to refer to a process, specifically, the process of attaining "development" (used here as an attribute). Broadly, it refers to the process whereby the ways of functioning of people, groups, and institutions are changed so that they operate more efficiently and effectively. Invariably, this process involves changes in both the internal and external relationships, including the perceptions of reality and of oneself, of the people, groups, or institutions that are to be changed.

To speak of national development is to speak of enhancing the capabilities of the nation-state's government, its economy, its cultural institutions, and its population, the level of these capabilities being a function of expectations, contributions, and performance of people in their economic, political, and other culturally defined roles and how these demands, supports, and levels of participation are patterned and organized within the nation-state. Enhancing capabilities involves changing the ways of functioning of people, groups, and institutions toward greater efficiency and effectiveness. Hence, national development involves individual, institutional, social and cultural changes that lead toward increasing expectations, increasing contributions, and increasing performance [see Lippitt *et al*. 1958:3-128]. The point on which definitions of development *generally* differ is in the identification of that capability of the society which is said to have reached a high level or which is to be enhanced.

Economic Definitions: Wealth as a Societal Capability

Very often, "national development" is used with considerable emphasis on the capability of producing scarce goods and services, and, by implication, the improvement and/or enlargement of the concrete set of activities and organizations through which the society patterns the flow of these scarce goods and services, i.e., the economy [Nash 1966: 3-7].

Strictly speaking, an increase in the capability of producing scarce goods and services is economic development. This involves the strategy of "getting the most" out of available resources, i.e., an efficient combination of the factors of production -- labor, capital, land (to mean the supply of known resources), and level of technology -- such that inputs are minimized and outputs maximized.

Levels of production depend not only on the quantities of the factors of production and the degree of technological advance but also on the proportions in which these factors are combined. The most important of these factors is technological progress, i.e., the use of new techniques which raise the productivity of available resources, especially labor. The key person in this process of technological advance is the entrepreneur, the man who sees the opportunity for introducing a new commodity, technique, raw material, or machine and brings together the necessary capital, management, labor, and materials to take advantage of it.

Self-sustaining growth is attained when this cycle is achieved: higher investment leads to capital improvements; capital improvements lead to higher productivity; higher productivity leads to higher real income; higher real income leads to higher saving and higher demand; both higher demand and higher saving lead to higher investment, closing the cycle [Lerner 1963:346-47].

The new technology, whether it refers to new and more efficient tools and techniques or better use for existing resources, invariably presupposes the acquisition of new manual, managerial, and professional skills. Because the introduction of technological improvements -- including improvements in labor and management skills -- requires investment (often heavy investments), capital accumulation is a necessary condition for technological progress. Capital is needed not only for the introduction of technology *per se* but also for "social capital" such as roads, transportation, communications, public utilities, schools, and hospitals [Higgins 1968:150-51].

If the private sector is to play a major role in capital accumulation and entrepreneurship, these factors must be profitable. That is, the social, economic, and political "climate" must be conducive to capital accumulation and to the appearance of a large and growing supply of entrepreneurs.

Consider, for instance, the host of politico-legal encouragements or discouragements of enterprise. Tariffs, tax exemptions, subsidies, corporate taxes, monetary policy, and other laws and regulations regarding wages, interests, imports, and exports all serve to encourage or discourage enterprise. The government, through its policies, may increase or decrease investment either by affecting the profitability of enterprise (and thereby the amount of profit available for reinvestment) or by affecting the ease with which additional investment may be mobilized [Parsons and Smelser 1956:56-64; Mitchell 1967:75-93; Holt and Turner 1966; and Higgins 1968:188-206, esp. 196-200. Also see: Staley 1966:294-306; Hirschman 1958:202-205].

Consider also the impact of societal roles and values on economic activity. If economic activity is seen as inconsistent with religious or moral values, if educational institutions do not prepare individuals for professional, managerial, or entrepreneurial roles, or if low prestige is accorded to economic activity, a high level of economic activity is unlikely.

Similarly, a high level of economic activity presumes a market large enough to absorb the goods and services produced. That is, enough people must want to buy and have the means to buy the goods and services produced. To have the means to buy presupposes the availability of work, the ability to work, and the motivation to do so.

A primarily economic definition of development would be realistic only if it took these individual, social, and political factors into account.

Anticipating two future points, this researcher suggests that there are two ways of looking at the different definitions of development: first, according to the capability of the society that is to be enhanced, and second, according to whether it is exclusive (limited to that capability) or inclusive (takes into account other capabilities of the society whose development fosters the enhancement of the first).

Political Definitions: Power as a Societal Capability

It is also possible to speak of national development with a strong emphasis on power. Many people stress the enhancement of the government's capabilities to control the people's behavior, to collect from the people, to retain their loyalty and allegiance, to distribute goods and services to them, and to be responsive to their demands and interests.

This stress on political development may be traceable to a conviction that political development is a prerequisite to economic development or to a conception of political development as more or less an end in itself, the latter generally involving a vision of some ideal government.

If an economic definition of development deals with the capability of producing scarce goods and services, a political definition of development deals with the enhancement of power, defined as the generalized capability to mobilize the resources of the society, including wealth and other ingredients such as loyalties and "political responsibility," etc., to attain more or less immediate collective goals of the society [Parsons and Smelser 1956:45; Mitchell 1967:89-91]. A political definition of development is concerned with the concrete set of activities and organizations through which the society patterns the exercise of power and authority.

Again, political development involves the strategy of "getting the most" out of available resources. In this case, the resources are the taxes that come from economic institutions and people in their economic roles; the people's conformity to laws and regulations; the people's acceptance of governmental decisions as to the allocation of honors, goods, and services to individuals and groups within the society; the people's generalized loyalty and commitment to the state; and, integral to all these, the recognition of the government's authority as legitimate in the context of the society's values, as expressed by those social institutions which have the function of defining, communicating, and interpreting these values [Deutsch 1964:194-96].

Winning and maintaining the people's loyalty and commitments presupposes a certain degree of responsiveness to people's demands and interests. The task of "getting the most" out of available political resources depends ultimately upon finding an efficient combination of these resources such that inputs are minimized and outputs are maximized.

Viewed in this light, the political development depends not only on the availability of these resources but how they are combined. One of the most important variables in political development is the people's level of participation. Most theorists stress this variable because this could stand a great deal of "improvement": a large proportion of apathetic and parochial individuals not only contribute little to political development but in fact constitute a drag on it [Almond and Verba 1965:11-35; Almond and Powell 1966:16-62, 190-212; Lerner 1958; 4-5, 50-52, 60-64].

The key person in the mobilization of the apathetic and the parochial is the politician, who may play many different roles. Particularly in developing countries, where there exist side by side, to all intents and purposes, a modern and a traditional culture, the following crucial political roles may be distinguished: (1) administrator, (2) agitator, (3) amalgamate, (4) transmitter, (5) ideological propagandist, and (6) political broker.[18]

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[18] The administrator and the agitator each stands in one system (the first in the modern, the other in the traditional) and seeks to bring about radical changes in the other. The amalgamate and the transmitter each occupies positions in both systems and strives either to keep both systems separate and autonomous or to cause only gradual changes. The ideological propagandist and the political broker attempt to integrate the two systems either by providing a common symbolism or

Self-sustaining growth in the political realm is attained when this cycle is achieved: the diffusion of new ideas and information leads to new demands on government and new popular expectations on the one hand and a new socialization (inculcation of new ways of thinking, seeing, judging, and doing) on the other; new socialization leads to new demands on government on the one hand and new patterns of political participation on the other; the new demands and the new patterns of political participation lead to new patterns of aggregating the different demands made on the government; and these new patterns of aggregating different demands lead to new public communication, i.e., diffusion of new ideas and information, closing the circle [Lerner 1963: 347-49].

The enhancement of power simply means that there be more people with a greater degree of involvement in the sense of obeying laws, paying taxes, receiving the benefits that government provides, e.g., law and order, social security, etc., and making their demands and interests known through various political activities, including voting [Lerner 1958:4-5, 60-64; Almond and Powell 1966:73-127; Mitchell 1967:76-97; Blau 1964:199-223].

But again, it will be difficult for political development to take place outside a social and economic climate that facilitates it.

The country's level of economic development limits the amount of wealth that the government can obtain from firms and individuals in the form of taxes and this in turn limits the government's ability to respond to the demands of the population. The society's cultural values also have a great deal to do with political development. If laws, the payment of taxes, or political participation are, by cultural standards, immoral, unattractive, or inappropriate, political development is that much harder to attain.

The enhancement of political capabilities depends very much on the people's sense of loyalty and commitment; yet, this willingness is not a sufficient condition; it must be paired with the ability to perform their duties and responsibilities as citizens.

Given this relationship between political development and various economic, individual, and social factors, it might be reiterated that a realistic definition of national development -- if presented in political terms -- must nonetheless take into account the

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by aggregating the separate interests of people at both levels of the society, the ideological propagandist by aggregating interests on the basis of some all-embracing ideology, the political broker by aggregating interests on a pragmatic basis [Pye 1956:342-48].

individual, social, and economic factors that facilitate or inhibit political growth.

Value-Related Definitions: Solidarity as a Societal Capability

Other people maintain that the test of development is not so much how much wealth a society possesses or how much power a society enjoys, but rather how much solidarity it exhibits.

This definition of development in terms of solidarity is a culture-related one: it refers to the effectiveness of the institutions[19] which define, communicate, and interpret the people's commonly held set of standards for deciding what is, for deciding what can be, for deciding how one feels about it, for deciding what to do about it, and for deciding how to go about doing it [Goodenough 1966:257-65; also see Johnson 1966:81-87; Hagen 1962:225-36; Horowitz 1966:225-46]. These standards are organized and distributed among the population in such a manner that they impart to individuals and groups within the population a satisfying self-image, a self-image that includes positions[20] and roles with the expectations and obligations appropriate for them. These positions and roles may be said to be satisfying to the extent that they express authentically the perceptions, attitudes, and values held by the people who occupy them.

Solidarity is directly related to the capability of the society, through its value-defining, -communicating, and -interpreting institutions, to analyze the situation, and decide among alternative ends and means on the basis of standards of effectiveness, rightness, and appropriateness. Implicitly, solidarity is related to the capability of the society to "bring into line" the behavior of its members, not on the basis of force or threats or on the basis of material inducements but on the basis of the commonly held conviction that this behavior that is called for is "truly right and just, proper and helpful toward salvation" [Parsons and Smelser 1956:49; Parsons 1963:58].

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[19] It may be argued that it is not only institutions but also individuals that set, communicate, and interpret standards, e.g., a prominent newspaper columnist, a bishop, or a university president. However, these individuals exert influence not in their personal capacities but as spokesmen for institutions like the press, the Church, or the university.

[20] The word, "positions," is used rather than "status," following Secord and Backman, to avoid the ambiguity of the latter term [1964:456].

The key institutions and roles are more difficult to define. The key organizations include the Church, the mass media, the educational system, and to the extent that the laws it promulgates are, in effect, communications and interpretations of the society's values, the government.[21] Among the key roles would be those of preacher, journalist, and educator, and, in fact, any role which is generally accorded widespread credibility as well as the right to set, communicate, and interpret such norms and values.

Solidarity is important in the continued functioning of the society and more so in the mobilization of people for great national efforts, such as the task of modernization. It is, after all, on the basis of commonly held standards that obligations, rights, privileges, and honors are accorded to different positions and roles. The continued functioning of any society, not to mention the attempt to raise its capabilities, calls for an allocation of goods and services, of honors and punishments, of privileges and obligations, that reward those positions, roles, and activities thought to be most important.

Such unequal sharing of the desiderata that society makes available would lead to discontent within the society and, in extreme cases, the break-up of the society were it not for the fact that the people generally agree with the standards by which these rewards have been allocated.

To the person who defines national development with a considerable emphasis on society's solidarity, the concrete set of activities and organizations through which the society's values, norms, and role expectations are communicated and interpreted are important. Such a person tends to express the view that the influence-wielding institutions are badly in need of improvement, because they are out of touch with reality and insensitive to present indications as to what the future may be like, what opportunities there will be to grasp, and what problems there will be to confront. These institutions are accused of perpetuating an inappropriate image of the "ideal man" and thereby inhibiting the development of roles crucial to development.

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[21] Deutsch recognizes the problem posed by the classification of institutions according to function as most structures perform different functions [1964:187]. Unlike Parsons [1960b:98-168] and Tiryakian [1967:79] who place religion and education under the pattern-maintenance function, Deutsch classifies them under the integration function. Undeniably, these institutions perform both functions and more [Levy 1966: 384-403]. In this research, it has been decided to follow Deutsch [1964:187-199], in the belief that religion and especially education in developing countries do far more than inculcate respect and commitment; in fact, the concept of development education calls for a resocialization of the child. On this basis, it was believed that the integration, rather than the pattern-maintenance function was better served by the religious and educational systems.

If wealth is the medium of transaction in the economy and power is the medium of transaction in the polity, the medium of transaction in integration is influence. Influence is the capability of the society to direct the behavior of its members, not on the basis of force or threats or the provision or withdrawal of material inducements but on the basis of the commonly held conviction that this behavior that is called for is good, right, and appropriate [Parsons 1963:58].[22]

Like money and power, influence can be expanded by its judicious "use." To state the judgmental or behavioral implications of a given value in a given situation, one stakes his reputation as a credible source to one degree or another. If an individual believes in the definition or interpretation of a value and modifies his behavior accordingly, he is, metaphorically making some investment of himself in the credibility of the source. If the individual feels that his conformity with the communication expresses more authentically his conception of himself as he is and/or as he would want to be, he is more likely to continue to believe in the source, and perhaps even "invest" more of himself in the credibility of the source [Coleman 1963:66-67; also see Homans 1961: 83-111; Blau 1964:253-82].

People are most likely to seek out the definitions, communications, and interpretations of these solidarity-generating institutions in times when members of the society do not hold expectations in common or when they behave contrary to them; in other words, when people disagree on their mutual privileges and obligations [Secord and Backman 1964:468]. Such role strain occurs on a large scale when the situation changes such that the socially sanctioned means are no longer adequate to achieve the socially sanctioned ends [see Merton 1957:131-94].

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[22] This of course, is a use of the term "influence" in a very narrow sense. Parsons enumerates other bases for conformity with another's pronouncements. These bases include the power to punish, the means to reward (both of these referring to control over the individual's situation), and the ability to activate the individual's commitments (which refers to a certain degree of control over the individual's intentions). It will be noted that these three other bases of persuasion correspond to the power-related, the wealth-related, and the character-related functions. Influence, used in its broad sense as the ability to persuade, thus becomes only analytically distinguishable from the possession of power, wealth, and prestige [Parsons 1963:51-59].

It is in the resolution of such role strain that solidarity-generating individuals and institutions can maintain and expand their influence or lose it: failure on the part of the solidarity-generating institutions to propose or ratify satisfactory solutions to role strain leads to a loss of confidence in these institutions and to a search for new institutions whose definitions and interpretations of norms and values are more satisfactory. Success means a greater likelihood that they maintain or even expand their influence.

The exercise of influence is inseparable from the willingness not only of the people but also of the economy and the polity to conform with the definitions, communications, and interpretations of societal norms and values, as presented by these solidarity-generating institutions. The exercise of influence, by definition, requires the willingness to listen, believe, and obey, on the part of the people spoken to.

The maintenance and maximization of solidarity by the traditional influence-wielders presupposes an appreciation for scientific and technological advances as well as the possible strains they might create and possible ways in which these strains might be minimized. This suggests the need for communication and exchange between the influence-wielders and the people and groups that originate scientific and other innovations.

A solidarity-related definition of development -- like the wealth- and power-related definitions -- would be realistic only if it took into account various political, economic, and social factors.

Development as Character-Building: Commitments as a Societal Capability

Some people are prone to define development not in terms of wealth, power, or influence, but in terms of the impact it has (or they think it should have) on individuals, families, and households.

To such people, the test of development is whether more people lead "satisfactory" lives. This implies not only material benefits such as better food and housing, better medical care, and, in short, a higher standard of living, but also, and more important the psychological satisfaction of living what is perceived to be a happy and useful life.

The material benefits implied by the definition presuppose not only the availability of these material benefits within the society but also the individual's ability to acquire them, i.e., his having some means of livelihood. And beyond a minimum level of such material benefits, the definition implies a psychological state where the individual is more or less content with his position in society, including the means accessible to him to better himself: that is, the individual's feeling that the benefits he receives and the opportunities he has access to are a more or less fair recompense for his performance as well as his position within the society.

It is this widespread feeling on the part of the population that they are "getting fair treatment" that maintains their loyalty and commitment to the present state of affairs [see Blau 1964:143-67; Homans 1961:112-29; Secord and Backman 1964:323-51]. This comprises an important capability of any society: the capability to preserve itself and to maintain its patterns. This capability may be called "commitment."

Central to this capability are individuals, families, and households where the young are raised and socialized. It is the home that is the focal point of character-building in the image of the society's conception of the "ideal man." Values, motivations, and standards for seeing, judging, and acting are inculcated. Patriotism and loyalty to the state, the willingness to work and the desire to achieve, respect and piety toward one's religion and culture and those who define, communicate, and interpret them -- the child's acquisition of all these takes place within or close to home [Deutsch 1964; 190-92; also see Sigel 1965; Hagen 1962:123-80; McClelland 1961:336-90; Weilenmann 1966].

There are two related aspects of character-building, in the broad sense that the term is used here. First, there is the aspect whereby the individual is *willing* to perform the social, political, and economic roles appropriate to his position in the society. Second, there is the aspect whereby the individual is *able* to perform these roles *in a manner that is satisfying to him*.

The first relates to motivations, perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and values *as they are held by the individual*.[23] The second relates not only to the individual's possessing the necessary physical characteristics, e.g., health, but also the intellectual abilities necessary for the integration of his various roles such that he experiences the minimum role strain.

Here, the strategy of "getting the most" out of available resources again makes its appearance: successful use of this strategy presupposes the individual's ability to analyze the situation, distinguish between the various responses open to him, i.e., responses he can enact, assess accurately the results of each of these alternative responses, and decide which one would be most advantageous to him [Thibaut and Kelley 1959:152].

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[23] As contrasted to motivations, perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and values as they are defined, communicated, and interpreted by the solidarity-generating institutions of society. These would correspond to the societal capability of solidarity.

In situations where solidarity-generating institutions are effective, the best response is generally that response recommended by these solidarity-generating institutions.

Otherwise, the individual, finding the prescriptions of the solidarity-generating institutions to be inappropriate or unsatisfactory, may find it necessary to resolve his role and value conflicts by himself.[24]

The ability of the individual to resolve competition and incompatibility among roles or values is of great importance in a period of social and economic change. During such periods, the solidarity-generating institutions are not likely to be too effective at the very time that changes in the situation, including the increase in the number of roles individuals must play, raise questions as to whether the traditionally held values and traditionally defined role-obligations are still binding. In times of role strain, this ability to resolve value- and role-competition and -incompatibility is a crucial individual trait.

In fact, it is precisely the increase in the number of roles that individuals must play and the lack of consensus on old values and old role-obligations that increase the individual's freedom [Parsons 1963:56-58]. He is in a position to choose those alternatives that to him are most rewarding, either intrinsically or extrinsically.

It is the individual's greater freedom to choose among alternative responses to the situation that gives the society's character-building capability, which ordinarily is a conservative force, an innovative potential, particularly in periods of change.[25]

The conditions making for the character-building capability's conservative or innovative direction are to be sought in the choices of the individual members of the society themselves. The individual is in a position to choose among alternatives, each of which carries a certain amount of legitimacy, that is, the perception of the alternative as "right"; as well as a certain amount of rewards and/or costs [see Gross, Mason, McEachern 1958].

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[24] These individual conflict-resolutions may or may not be ratified later on by the solidarity-generating institutions of the society.

[25] This suggestion comes from Tiryakian [1967].

The individual's choice among alternatives will be determined to a significant degree by his orientations toward legitimacy and rewards.

(1) The individual may have a primarily moral orientation, by which he would tend to prefer the most legitimate alternative, to reject illegitimate ones, and, in cases where one alternative seems just as legitimate as another, to compromise.

(2) The individual might have a primarily pragmatic orientation by which he would tend to choose the most rewarding alternative, to reject those that involved costs, and, in cases where one alternative is just as rewarding as the other, to compromise.

(3) Or, the individual might have a moral-pragmatic orientation, which takes both legitimacy and reward dimensions into consideration and tries to balance the two. No problem occurs when legitimacy and rewards dictate the same alternative. Between two alternatives of equal legitimacy, the more rewarding one is likely to be chosen; between two equally rewarding alternatives, the more legitimate one is chosen. When alternatives are equally rewarding and equally legitimate, a compromise is likely to be made.

Realistically speaking, in only a few countries have the solidarity-generating institutions proved to be effective in a period of change in the sense that they explained and redefined beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviors such that these were fully responsive to the needs of the time [see Geertz 1963].

Hence, it is not surprising that most students of development have found the innovators to be individuals with a pragmatic orientation and, consequently, have tended to stress the crucial role in modernization of psychological needs, beliefs, attitudes, and values associated with the pragmatic orientation.

Among the psychological variables mentioned have been need achievement, need affiliation, and other-directedness [McClelland 1961], empathy [Lerner 1958], associational sentiments [Pye 1962], an attitude toward time as a pattern of coherence and change, an attitude toward the material world as understandable and controllable, an attitude toward human beings as being interdependent [see, for instance Almond and Verba 1965; Tumin and Feldman 1961; Cantril 1965; Kahl 1968; Lerner 1958; Hagen 1962; Parsons 1960a and 1960b; Parsons and Shils 1962; Smith and Inkeles 1966]. Running through most of these themes is an orientation toward the strategy of "getting the most" out of available resources, including human beings: just as "engineering is the application of rationality and authority to material things; modern social organization is its application to human beings and social groups" [Rustow 1967:4].

Though the focus of character-building is the home, it takes place in an atmosphere created by social, economic, and political conditions.

The willingness to work is more difficult to inculcate (or to maintain) when the rewards for work are low or inconsistent; so is the willingness to buy when the goods desired are unavailable, too expensive, or of poor quality. The willingness to obey laws, pay taxes, and perform other political duties is difficult to inculcate (or to maintain) if the government fails to meet people's demands or be otherwise responsive to their interests. The same is true of respect, belief, and piety toward institutions such as the educational system, the Church, the mass media, and other influence-wielding institutions if the latter are perceived to be wrong, or in one way or another, to have failed to communicate to the people satisfying symbols and images of values and roles.

To recapitulate briefly, it may be noted that:

1. There are many ways of defining development. Most of these definitions imply the following: (a) one or more capabilities of the entity said to be developed or developing are enhanced; (b) these capabilities are more or less inherent within the entity; and (c) the enhancement of these capabilities tends toward a level of performance such that a self-sustained rate of enhancing these capabilities becomes a permanent long-run feature.

2. To speak of "national development" is to take the nation-state as the entity said to be developed or developing. The capabilities of the nation-state include the capabilities of its economy, its polity, its cultural system, and its population.

3. Wealth for the economy, power for the polity, solidarity for the cultural system, and character for the population may be discussed along the following lines: (a) the institutions and activities through which the flow of the capability is patterned; (b) the key role or roles associated with each capability; (c) the conditions making for the enhancement of each of the capabilities, and, based on these, (d) the relationship between each capability and the other three.

4. The interdependence among the four capabilities can thus be argued.

Common Processes: Organizational Growth, New Roles, and Personality Changes

The interdependence among the four capabilities becomes clearer when the processes common to all are considered.

The first process is the growth of organizations, which brings in its wake division of labor, specialization, an increase in authority and control, and greater opportunity to reach a greater number of persons [see Levy 1966:38-84; Pye 1962; LaPalombara 1963a, 1963b; Hoselitz 1963; Spengler 1963].

This process is reflected in the economy by the rise and expansion of firms and corporations; in government by increased bureaucratization and the increasing number of responsibilities that government assumes or is forced to assume; in the area of solidarity by the growth of the mass media, the growth of the educational system, and the specialization of institutions according to subject area in which they are deemed to be credible because authoritative; and in the character-building area by the intrusion of institutions other than the family in the function of inculcating the appropriate values and beliefs in the young and the increasing freedom of the individual to choose among the various groups and institutions that make a claim on his loyalty.

The main impact of the growth of organizations, particularly those in the economic and political spheres, is the creation of new positions within the society.

The second process is personality change within the population. As noted in the sections on the solidarity and character-building capabilities of the society, changes in the situation tend to increase the individual's responsibility for deciding among conflicting values and norms so as to attain a state of satisfaction with himself and the world. Effective exercise of this freedom calls for the development of a number of personality traits, including the ability to analyze the situation, to weigh alternatives according to their rewards and costs, and legitimacy, and to decide on the basis of which alternative is most rewarding. This strategy of "making the most" out of one's resources also creates the individual's desire to increase his range of alternatives.

The third common process bridges the new positions created and the new changes in personality: the development of new roles by which people with new attitudes and values assume the new positions within the society and through these roles, maximize their own satisfaction and the society's capabilities [see Levy 1966:133-219; Shils 1963].

The previous sections on the capabilities of the society stressed the often-underemphasized importance of the solidarity-generating and characterbuilding capabilities of the society by showing

that the participation of more individuals in the economy and the polity is a necessary condition for political and social development and that this increased participation is likely only with the sanction of the solidarity-generating institutions of the society (or the rise of new ones which sanction it).

Given the new positions created in the course of economic and political development, the roles and role-obligations and privileges associated with these new positions would have a far greater chance of being filled by people with the appropriate personality characteristics if these roles and their associated obligations and rewards were sanctioned, if not actually recommended, by the society's solidarity-generating institutions.

The preceding discussion in its entirety suggests that just as changes in any one societal capability have an impact on the other capabilities, changes in any one of the three processes enumerated above affect the other two.[26]

Society as a System

Given the interdependence among these processes and capabilities, it would be useful for the continuation of the present discussion of the Colombian leaders' views of the role of education in national development, to view society as a system.

A "system" will be defined here as an association of units in interdependence with one another distinguishable from the environment. Interdependence implies that a change in the properties of one of the components of the system leads to changes in the other components and in the system as a whole. It is axiomatic that a system seeks equilibrium, i.e., a change of state in any one component of the system leads to changes in the state of other components to a point where no further change of state occurs within the system.

To say that the system is distinguishable from the environment simply means that that which is conceived as a system starts somewhere and ends somewhere. It is axiomatic that a system is boundary-maintaining: the reaction to initial change is such that it retains its boundaries relative to the environment [Zelditch 1955:401-408].

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[26] The interdependence of all these capabilities and processes is supported not only by the entire preceding discussion but also by the consensus among the authors cited above on the multidimensionality of the concept "development." Also see, Deutsch [1961]; Eisenstadt [1966]; Weiner [1966].

A system[27] may be viewed as a set of parts or subsystems that interact in such a way that the components tend to change so slowly that they can be treated temporarily as constant. These slow-changing parts may be called structures. Their interactions and transactions in relation with each other are such that their basic structural characteristics persist; if these transactions turn out to be maintaining or reproducing the system, they are called functions.

It is useful to consider a system as goal-oriented, the goal being the gratification of the member-units of the system. From this perspective, it may be said that a system has to fulfill four broad classes of functions (functional imperatives) if it is to continue as a system:

1. Goal Attainment -- Every system may be viewed as tending to fulfill some function or to require some facility for moving toward goal relationships. The goal is always a situation or a relationship between the system and the environment, such that some internal disequilibrium of the system is significantly or markedly lower than it would be were some other relationship to exist. A goal or "consummatory state" is desired and so goal-seeking at the system level poses problems of both goal selection and resource mobilization.

2. Adaptation -- The system must in some way succeed in adapting itself to changes within the environment. This refers to the problem of providing facilities for the use of the system in the interests of goal attainment.

3. Latency (Pattern-Maintenance or Tension-Management) -- The system must do something or behave in such a way that basic patterns, overt and hidden, are maintained, reproduced, or preserved. Two problems are involved here: the inculcation of the appropriate values and motivations in the member-units to maintain their support and guide their actions and the devising of means to cope with or prevent disabilities -- physical or emotional -- that lower the efficiency and/or effectiveness of member-units in the system.

4. Integration -- As a system functions to pursue its goals, adapt to the environment, and maintain its patterns, there arise problems related to the integration and coordination of the various messages and

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[27] The following delineation of the systemic model of society is based on Deutsch [1964:181-208].

the allocation of facilities or functions inside the system. A system must, therefore, do something or behave in such a manner as to prevent the different operations of the system from interfering with each other in a frustrating or destructive way: compatibility among the various structures and functions must be maintained -- generally through the arrangement of structures and functions in some hierarchical order of precedence.

On a more abstract level, goal attainment is defined as the gratification of the units of the system; adaptation as the maniuplation of the environment in the interests of goal attainment; integration as the attachment of member units to each other in their distinction from that which is non-system; and latency as the reduction of malintegration of member-units, each member-unit being considered as a system itself.

An action may be analyzed in terms of the functions it fulfills for the system to which it is related. An action may serve one or more of these four functions. For instance, one could repaint a ship to keep it from rusting (pattern maintenance), adapt it for a cruise in the Arctic by altering the keel (pattern maintenance and adaptation), or redesign it and strengthen the engine to win a race (primarily goal attainment).

The functions of a system may not only be complementary but may also be competitive. For instance, an automobile engine may be designed primarily for speed or primarily for safety. Within an intermediate range of design criteria, the two are compatible, but an automobile can be built with a speed capacity which is so high that the rate of safety falls to zero. In the long run, it is not even speedy because it becomes scrap iron in very short time.

None of the four functions may be completely sacrificed, but, beyond the minimum of each function, there is a range where the functions are competitive with each other while still remaining compatible.

In terms of the systems model herein presented, a society may be viewed as a large system composed of subsystems, each serving only certain functions of the larger system and simultaneously fulfilling for itself all four of the basic function imperatives.

Of course, different social institutions (structures) may fulfill more than one function. For example, the Church may play the role of educator as well as landowner. However, social institutions do tend to serve one function more than another. Thus, as a first approximation, it would be possible to associate the following institutions with the following functions:

1. The economy, including its scientific and technological aspects, may be considered as the adaptive (A) subsystem which deals in getting whatever is needed from the physical environment as well as from the intellectual capacities of the population to adapt to all the various needs.

The adaptive subsystem contributes wealth to the total system, wealth being defined as a generalized capacity to command goods and services, either as facilities or as reward objects for any goal or interest at any level in society.

For the purposes of the present research, the adaptive subsystem, i.e., structures and functions associated with the adaptive subsystem, will be referred to as wealth-related structures and functions.

2. The government may be considered as the goal-attaining (G) subsystem, particularly if the society's goals go beyond the maintenance of the status quo and demands are made on the government to facilitate the movement of society in the direction of significant qualitative and quantitative changes in style of life.

The goal-attaining subsystem contributes power to the total system, power being defined as the generalized capacity to mobilize the resources of the society, including wealth and other ingredients such as loyalties, "political responsibility," etc., to attain particular and more or less immediate collective goals of the system.

For the purposes of the present research, the goal-attaining subsystem will be referred to as power-related structures and functions.

3. Cultural, religious, educational, legal, and similar institutions may be considered as the integrative (I) subsystem.

The integrative subsystem contributes solidarity to the total system, solidarity being defined as the generalized capacity of agencies in the society to "bring into line" the behavior of system units in accordance with the integrative needs of the system, to check or reverse disruptive tendencies to deviant behavior, and to promote the conditions of harmonious cooperation.

For the purposes of the present research, the integrating subsystem will be referred to as solidarity-generating or influence-wielding structures and functions.

4. The family, households, and individuals may be considered as the latency, pattern-maintaining, or tension-managing (L) subsystem which reproduces the species, rears the children, restores the labor force, preserves kin groups, inculcates the appropriate values and motivations, and maintains the culture.

The latency subsystem contributes commitments to the total system, i.e., commitments to conform to the society's set of values. Commitment is a capacity to act in such a way as to implement the relevant system of institutionalized values.

For the purposes of the present research, the latency subsystem will be referred to as character-building structures and functions.

The wealth-related and power-related subsystems (goal adaptation and goal attainment) are often referred to as instrumental subsystems in the sense that they are primarily concerned with the means with which certain ends may be attained. Wealth- and power-related functions and structures will be referred to in this work as task-oriented structures and functions.

The solidarity-generating and character-building subsystems (integration and latency) are often referred to as expressive subsystems in the sense that they refer to the maintenance, expression, and elaboration of people's values, i.e., things considered as ends in themselves. Solidarity-generating and character-building functions will be referred to in this work as pattern-oriented structures and functions.

Development Defined

On the basis of the preceding review, this researcher posits the following definition of national development not as the definition of national development but as the framework for the classification of the definitions of national development made by the Colombian leaders who participated in the present survey.

The definition is as follows:

National development refers to the process whereby a society's capabilities to produce wealth, to exercise power, to generate solidarity, and to build character are enhanced to the point that a self-sustained rate of enhancing these capabilities becomes a long-run permanent feature. Common to the enhancement of these capabilities are the increase in the number and size of organizations, the development of new roles associated with the positions created by the increase in organizations, and changes in personality attributes in the direction of those characteristics appropriate for the performance not only of the new roles but also for the performance of a wider range of roles. These appropriate characteristics are by and large related to a pragmatic orientation. The enhancement of these capabilities and these processes common to it are interdependent: the level of any one capability or the extent to which any one of the processes has taken place constitutes a constraint on the achievable level in any of the other capabilities and the extent to which any of the other processes can take place. National development can thus be viewed as a systemic process.

National development may also be used as an attribute; in this sense, it refers to a society's achievement of a self-sustained rate of enhancing its capabilities.

There are thus several ways of categorizing definitions of development:

1. According to whether the definition is systemic or non-systemic -- A systemic definition of development is one that takes into account an increase in all four system capabilities -- goal attainment, goal adaptation, integration, and latency; in terms of the systems model of society presented here, a systemic definition would take into account increases in wealth, power, solidarity, and character-building.

Operationally, a respondent would be said to have a systemic definition of development, if, his responses to the questions, "When you discuss Colombian national development, what changes in the nation are you primarily thinking about"; "In your opinion, which new value is most worth having in Colombian society"; and "Perhaps you've already told me this in your previous comments, but do not have any 'philosophy of national development' that guided you in choosing among these programs?" were explicitly related to increases in wealth, power, solidarity, and character-building.

2. According to capability emphasized -- Definitions would be classified by the capability emphasized by the respondent. Each capability could be named by the respondent no more than three times. Operationally, a respondent's core capability would be that capability which he mentioned at least twice.

3. According to whether it is primarily task-oriented or pattern-oriented -- This is related to the classification of definitions of development by capability emphasized (the wealth- and power-related capabilities are the instrumental or task-oriented capabilities and the solidarity- and character-building capabilities are the expressive or pattern-oriented capabilities). It is further recognized that the instrumental capabilities are enhanced with a greater portion of the population having personality traits that are task-oriented, e.g., need-achievement, delayed gratification, dynamism, etc.; and that the expressive capabilities are enhanced with a greater portion of the population having personality traits that are pattern-oriented, e.g., goodness, hospitality.

Operationally, a respondent would be said to have made a task- or pattern-oriented definition of development if he made at least three task- or pattern-oriented responses respectively.

Roles, Functions, Orientations, and Standards of Performance

The list of societal capabilities guided the classification of the responses to the other questions. Responses dealing with the standards whereby people judged the educational system, its performance, its problems, and possible solutions were categorized to a great extent according to what societal capability they were most related to. So were the choices of programs selected by the respondents for emphasis in a program of national development. The assignment of roles to the foreign agencies, the central government, and the Catholic Church were also categorized -- as far as possible -- in this manner.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Overview

What follows is a description of how the Colombian influentials: (1) viewed the performance of the educational system in this period of change; (2) defined the objectives of education; (3) perceived the problems faced by education on the elementary and secondary and on the university levels; and (4) interrelated attitude, objectives, problems, and programs. The distribution of these attitudes, perceptions, proposals, and standards will be described in terms of position (sector in which the respondent exercises influence), personal characteristics (such as age, region of origin, family background), and knowledge and attitudes (recent developments in politics, economics, and education).

First, it was expected that evaluations of the educational system would be related to: perceptions of the problems facing the system and possible solutions, definitions of the tasks of education, and the position occupied by the respondent. Second, it was expected that perceptions of the problems facing the system and the definition of the tasks of education would also be related to the position occupied by the respondent.

The basis for the first set of expectations is the view of the respondents as rational people: their attitudes would be based on their perceptions, the standards on which they judge these perceptions as good or bad, and the perspective from which they make these perceptions and draw these standards. The second set of expectations is based on the belief that the individual's position has some effect on the type of information he receives and the standards which he considers appropriate to apply. The second set of expectations is strengthened by the knowledge that the respondents were aware of the fact that they were chosen to be interviewed primarily on the basis of the positions they occupied. It is suggested here that this knowledge would engender a tendency to respond less as individuals and more as spokesmen of the offices or societal sector to which they were affiliated, particularly when the question was relevant to the respondent's office or sector. It is suggested further that there would be significant differences in the patterns of attitudes, specifications, and norms between educators and non-educators, between educational influentials and non-influentials, between those trained as educators and those not.[28]

Attitude toward Education

Only six per cent of the Colombian influentials were satisfied with the educational system's performance with respect to the process of national development. Thirty-six per cent were dissatisfied, with the rest expressing a qualified satisfaction -- or dissatisfaction, depending on whether one takes an optimistic or pessimistic perspective. And the distribution of unfavorable and favorable responses makes the pessimistic perspective more defensible.

This is not to say, of course, that there were this many influentials who were negative toward the educational system. Attitude toward education here is construed as the respondents' judgment as to whether the educational system tends to be a force for change or whether it tends to keep things as they are; whether change in the educational system was progressing as fast as change in Colombia in general; and whether education is an asset to society.[29]

Though over one-third of the respondents were negative toward the educational system on these points, the fact remains that a majority of the influentials gave qualified responses. This supports what one might expect of attitudes toward an issue as complex (and as new -- for Colombia) as the performance of the educational system in the modernization process: different norms will be brought to bear on different perceptions.

The cross-tabulation of attitude toward education by position and personal characteristics as well as knowledge and attitudes toward recent developments in economics, politics, and education (see Table 1) suggests that: (1) educators were less prone than non-educators to give a qualified response; they were more likely to give either a

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[28] Not all of the educators had received professional training in education. Also included in this category were respondents who had been trained in the behavioral sciences.

[29] This is the operational definition of the term "attitude toward education." The operational definitions of the other terms used elsewhere in this work are contained in footnotes to the appropriate tables.

TABLE 1

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Dissatisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Number
Sector of Influence:				
Economy:				
Influentials	35	63	2	40
Non-influentials	36	56	7	176
Government:[b]				
High influentials	30	66	4	47
Low influentials	53	47	0	34
Non-influentials	34	57	9	135
Education:[c]				
High influentials	29	64	7	28
Middle influentials	42	52	6	52
Low influentials	49	40	11	35
Non-influentials	31	64	5	101
Church:				
Influentials	50	50	0	24
Non-influentials	34	58	7	192
Other:				
Influentials	35	59	6	34
Non-influentials	36	57	7	182
Profession:				
Educator	41	50	9	102
Non-educator	32	64	4 ($p < .10$)	114
National Origin:				
Colombian	38	55	8	181
Foreigner	29	71	0 ($p < .10$)	35
Age:[d]				
Under 40	30	53	16	43
40's	43	52	5	75
50's	35	62	3	66
Over 60	31	66	3	32
Family Background:[e]				
"Mixed"	41	48	11	27
New elite	46	45	9	65
Traditional elite	30	64	6	89
Foreigner	29	71	0	35
Place of Residence:				
Bogotá	41	57	2	102
Outside Bogotá	33	52	15	79
Foreigner	29	71	0 ($p < .01$)	35
Training:				
Education or behavioral sciences:				
No	32	60	8	149
Yes	46	51	3 ($p < .10$)	67
Business or economics:				
No	34	59	7	147
Yes	41	54	6	69
Law:				
No	39	55	6	139
Yes	31	61	8	77
Medicine, engineering, natural sciences:				
No	38	56	6	177
Yes	28	62	10	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:				
No	32	60	8	159
Yes	47	51	2 ($p < .10$)	57
Knowledge:				
Developments in the economy and polity:[f]				
Less knowledgeable	34	59	6	32
Knowledgeable	40	58	2	50
More knowledgeable	35	57	8	134
Developments in education:[g]				
Less knowledgeable	50	50	0	26
Knowledgeable	34	61	5	59
More knowledgeable	34	57	8	131
Attitudes:				
Developments in the economy and polity:[h]				
Least favorable	44	48	7	54
Less favorable	30	67	2	40
More favorable	36	57	7	70
Most favorable	33	60	8	52
Developments in education:[i]				
Least favorable	36	62	3	39
Less favorable	41	54	4	70
More favorable	33	61	6	33
Most favorable	32	57	11	74

FOOTNOTES TO TABLE 1

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[a] A summative index was created from the responses to the questions:
(1) "In your opinion, is education presently a force for change in Colombia or does it tend to keep things as they are?"
(2) "Do you think that change in the educational system is progressing as fast as change in Colombia in general?" and
(3) "Education is usually considered an asset to society. Do you ever feel, however, that education in Colombia may have unforeseen negative consequences?"

Responses to each of these questions was scored "1" if unfavorable, "3" if favorable, and "2" if balanced, i.e., qualified one way or the other.

Summing the scores assigned to each respondent yielded a seven-point scale running from three to nine. Respondents who scored three or four were said to be dissatisfied; those who scored eight or nine, satisfied; the rest were assigned to the middle category.

[b] "High influentials" refers to high national officials such as cabinet ministers. "Low influentials" refers to local and lower national officials, such as general directors of ministries and governors.

[c] "High influentials" refers to occupants of high national positions, such as the Director of the Colombian Association of Universities, and the Rector of National University. "Middle influentials" include occupants of middle national positions and high local positions, such as directors of cultural national associations and rectors of universities. "Low influentials" include educators not included in the above categories, such as deans and professors.

[d] As estimated by the interviewer.

[e] A "traditional" family background was assigned to respondents both of whose parents' families are recognized as having a long tradition of high political, economic, intellectual, and/or social prestige. A "new" family background was assigned to respondents both of whose parents' families have not or are still in the process of associating a tradition with their family names. A "mixed" family background was assigned to respondents one of whose parents comes from a traditional family, the other from a new one.

Five Colombian influentials -- two traditional, two new, and one mixed -- categorized the respondents, majority opinion determining the category to which each respondent was assigned.

[f] With regard to knowledge of recent developments in the industrial, agricultural, and political sectors, responses were assigned a "1" if the respondent manifested no knowledge; a "2," if general; and a "3," if specific knowledge. A summative index was created from these knowledge responses, yielding a seven-point scale, running from no-knowledge to specific one. This seven-point scale was collapsed into a three-point one with the first four intervals of the seven-point scale corresponding to the "less knowledgeable" category; the fifth interval, to the "knowledgeable"; and the sixth and seventh intervals, to the "more knowledgeable" category.

[g] With regard to knowledge of recent developments in education, responses were assigned a "1," if the respondent manifested no knowledge; a "2," if general; and a "3," if specific knowledge. A summative index was created from these knowledge responses, yielding a five-point scale, running from no-knowledge to specific one. This five-point scale was collapsed into a three-point one with the first three intervals of the five-point scale corresponding to the "less knowledgeable" category.

[h] Responses to the questions on recent developments in industrialization, agricultural development, and political reform were assigned a "1" if the respondent was unfavorable to the developments he named; "2," if neutral; and "3," if favorable, the lack of a response being treated as a neutral one. A summative index was created from these attitude responses, yielding a seven-point scale, running from unfavorable to favorable. This seven-point scale was collapsed into a four-point one with the first three intervals on the seven-point scale corresponding to the "least favorable" category; the fourth interval, to the "less favorable" category; the fifth interval, to the "more favorable" category; and the sixth and seventh intervals, to the "most favorable" category.

[i] Responses to the questions on recent developments in education were assigned a "1" if the respondent was unfavorable to the developments he named; a "2," if neutral; and a "3" if favorable, the lack of a response being treated as a neutral one. A summative index was created from these attitude responses, yielding a five-point scale, running from unfavorable to favorable. This five-point scale was collapsed into a four-point one with the first two intervals of the five-point scale corresponding to the "least favorable" category.

positive or a negative evaluation; (2) Colombians, compared to foreigners, exhibited this same pattern; (3) respondents residing outside Bogota were more likely to be favorable; (4) respondents trained as educators were less likely to be favorable; and (5) respondents trained in the humanities, journalism, or theology were less likely to be favorable.

These differences raise questions that vary in difficulty. The greater tendency of respondents trained in education to express an unfavorable attitude toward the educational system may simply reflect a higher standard of judging the educational process: they are more stringent in evaluating course content, teaching methods, and teacher competence. The greater tendency of respondents trained as humanists to express an unfavorable attitude may reflect a different standard of judging the educational "product" if not the process: in evaluating content, methods, students, and graduates, they were likely to use humanistic and moral yardsticks. The greater tendency of foreigners to give a qualified answer would seem to reflect a hesitance to be openly critical of a Colombian institution. Coming as they do from countries where the educational system is further advanced, they were unwilling to give the Colombian educational system unconditional praise; however, the perception that it would be impolitic for a foreigner to criticize a Colombian institution would tend to reduce the number of foreigners who did so. The foreigners unfavorable toward the educational system were likely to include those educational consultants who have worked long enough in Colombia to feel assured that their criticism of the educational system will not be considered malicious.

That educators were different from non-educators with respect to attitude toward the educational system is not unexpected. What is more difficult to explain is the greater tendency of educators to give either a favorable or an unfavorable response.

Attitude toward Education: Conditioned on Perceptions or Position

What may suggest an answer to this question are the relationships between attitude toward education and: (1) the respondents' specification of the problems facing the educational sector; (2) the solutions they propose; and (3) the norms by which they judged the educational system.

The relationship between attitude toward education and the specification of the problems on the elementary and secondary school level approached significance (see Tables 2 and 3). Most likely to be unfavorable were those respondents who stated that the elementary and secondary schools had failed to meet the following standards:

TABLE 2

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION[a]
(Consolidated)

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background,
Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Cites Standard	Cites Programs	Cites Problems	Number
Sector of Influence:				
Economy:				
Influentials	42	20	38	40
Non-influentials	57	16	26	176
Government:				
High influentials	62	11	28	47
Low influentials	59	15	26	34
Non-influentials	51	20	29	135
Education:				
High influentials	61	14	25	28
Middle influentials	58	23	19	52
Low influentials	57	20	23	35
Non-influentials	50	14	36	101
Church:				
Influentials	42	17	42	24
Non-influentials	56	17	27	192
Other:				
Influentials	62	12	26	34
Non-influentials	53	18	29	182
Profession:				
Educator	60	19	22	102
Non-educator	50	16	34	114
National Origin:				
Colombian	56	16	28	181
Foreigner	46	23	31	35
Age:				
Under 40	56	23	21	43
40's	64	13	23	75
50's	55	8	38	66
Over 60	31	38	31 ($p < .01$)	32
Family Background:				
"Mixed"	52	19	30	27
New elite	62	17	22	65
Traditional elite	54	15	31	89
Foreigner	46	23	31	35
Place of Residence:				
Bogotá	61	14	25	102
Outside Bogotá	51	19	30	79
Foreigner	46	23	31	35
Training:				
Education or behavioral science:				
No	50	19	31	149
Yes	64	13	22	67
Business or economics:				
No	56	17	27	147
Yes	52	17	30	69
Law:				
No	51	17	32	139
Yes	61	18	21	77
Medicine, engineering or natural science:				
No	56	17	27	177
Yes	46	18	36	39
Humanities, journalism or theology:				
No	55	17	28	159
Yes	53	18	30	57
Knowledge:				
Developments in the economy and polity:				
Less knowledgeable	50	16	34	32
Knowledgeable	50	18	32	50
More knowledgeable	57	17	25	134
Developments in education:				
Less knowledgeable	38	31	31	26
Knowledgeable	61	12	27	59
More knowledgeable	55	17	28	131
Attitudes:				
Developments in the economy and polity:				
Least favorable	56	19	26	54
Less favorable	52	15	32	40
More favorable	53	16	31	70
Most favorable	58	19	23	52
Developments in education:				
Least favorable	54	23	23	39
Less favorable	50	17	33	70
More favorable	48	24	27	33
Most favorable	62	11	27	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the questions:

(1) "I would like to ask your attitude about the traditional teaching methods employed in Colombia. Would you like to see them changed -- and if so, what changes?"

(2) "Next, I would like to ask about the subject matter -- the content -- of elementary and secondary education. Would you like to see changes in the subject matter -- and, if so, what kinds of changes?"

Criticisms were categorized into three groups: those that merely pointed to a problem (rote-learning, "enciclopedismo," rigidity, inadequacy of teachers, and incompetence of teachers); those that advocated a program or some definite solution (problem-solving, active participation, use of the media, independent study, technical and vocational education, higher salaries, and full-time teachers); and those that specified some criterion of performance that the educational system had to meet (fostering the student's conceptual ability, relevance of the training to the student's life and to the needs of the country, and relatedness of the content of courses one to the other).

Three summative indexes were created out of the problem; program; and standard-related responses yielding a five-, four-, and three-point scale, respectively. A Boolean index was then created by which all respondents who cited a standard were said to have done so; respondents who did not cite a standard and cited at least two programs were said to have cited programs; all other respondents -- including those who did not make any responses -- were said to have cited problems. It will be noted that underlying this Boolean index is a rough scale of sophistication: it was assumed that people who cited standards were more likely to cite programs as well as problems, and that people that cited programs were more likely to cite the problems to which these programs were to be addressed.

TABLE 3

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Approaches to Problems in Elementary and Secondary Education)

Approaches to Problems in Elementary & Secondary Education	Dissatisfied	Number
Consolidated		
Cites standard	42	118
Cites programs	38	37
Cites problems	25 ($p < .10$)	61
Unconsolidated[b]		
Cites standard		
No	30	98
Yes	42 ($p < .10$)	118
Cites programs		
None	32	97
One	42	80
Two or more	33	39
Cites problems		
None	43	47
One	33	92
Two or more	36	77

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[a] Due to the small number of respondents who were favorable toward the educational system, the attitude variable was dichotomized between "dissatisfied" and "not dissatisfied," with the latter category including satisfied and qualified responses.

[b] It will be recalled that in the consolidated category, respondents who cited programs were classified as such only if they had not cited standards and that respondents who cited problems were not classified as such if they had cited standards or programs, the assumption being that respondents who cited standards had some program and problem in mind, that those who cited programs had some problem in mind. This assumption is not made in the unconsolidated category.

(1) relevance to the student's life and/or the needs of the country; (2) relatedness of the content of courses, one with another, and/or (3) development of the students' conceptual skills. Almost as likely to be unfavorable were those respondents who did not cite standards but rather tried to propose programs aimed at improving the elementary and secondary schools, such as: (1) problem-solving, (2) active participation, (3) use of media and audiovisual aids, (4) more technical and vocational education, (5) higher salaries, and (6) full-time teachers.

Most likely to express a favorable or qualified attitude toward the educational system were those respondents who cited neither standards nor programs but tended mere to point to problems such as rote learning, "enciclopedismo," rigidity of course content, teacher incompetence, and/or lack of teachers.

While these differences in the way the respondents approached the elementary and secondary school levels were related to their attitude toward education, it could be that these differences in approach -- as well as attitude toward education -- could well be conditioned on the respondents' respective positions within the society. This appeared to be the case. Among either educators or non-educators, there was no significant relationship between the respondents' attitude toward education and their approach toward the elementary and secondary school levels. This would suggest that the differences in attitude toward education could be sufficiently explained in terms of whether the respondents were educators or not.

Attitude toward education also turned out to be unrelated with the respondents' approaches to problems on the university level. There appeared to be no relationship between the respondents' attitude toward education and whether they defined the locus of university problems as the professors and students (personnel-related criticisms) or as the organization and administration of the university system (system-related criticisms, e.g., of content, methods, facilities and/or administration). Table 4 shows the distribution of the respondents' approaches to problems in university education. There appeared to be no relationship either between the respondents' attitude toward education and whether they proposed solutions involving an expansion of university programs or those involving merely administrative reforms (see Table 5).

This lack of a significant relationship between attitude toward education and the respondents' approaches to problems on the elementary and secondary school levels and to problems on the university level would seem to indicate that the perception of the educational system as acting and being acted upon in the modernization process was by and large irrelevant to the respondents' perceptions of problems on either level and to their proposal of means to solve these problems. This lack of significant relationships may also be taken as a suggestion that the respondents' definition of educational problems and proposal of solutions

TABLE 4

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background,
Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Nature of Criticism		Nature of Changes Proposed		
	Personnel-Related	System-Related	Expansion of Programs	Administrative or Academic Reforms	Number
Sector of Influence:					
Economy:					
Influentials	30	20	15	17	40
Non-influentials	53 ($p < .02$)	26	40 ($p < .01$)	22	176
Government:					
High influentials	43	26	32	23	47
Low influentials	47	12	44	18	34
Non-influentials	51	27	35	21	135
Education:					
High influentials	64	36	46	39	28
Middle influentials	62	17	50	17	52
Low influentials	57	29	43	26	35
Non-influentials	35 ($p < .01$)	24	23 ($p < .01$)	17 ($p < .10$)	101
Church:					
Influentials	75	25	50	21	24
Low-influentials	45 ($p < .02$)	24	34	21	192
Other:					
Influentials	29	29	35	12	34
Non-influentials	52 ($p < .05$)	24	36	23	182
Profession:					
Educator	61	24	48	24	102
Non-educator	38 ($p < .01$)	25	25 ($p < .001$)	19	114
National Origin:					
Colombian	46	23	35	19	181
Foreigner	60	34	37	34 ($p < .10$)	35
Age:					
Under 40	49	23	30	23	43
40's	56	27	37	23	75
50's	44	29	33	21	66
Over 60	41	13	44	16	32
Family Background:					
"Mixed"	44	30	22	15	27
New elite	49	22	38	11	65
Traditional elite	45	21	37	26	89
Foreigner	60	34	37	34 ($p < .05$)	35
Place of Residence:					
Bogotá	43	23	42	14	102
Outside Bogotá	51	23	27	25	79
Foreigner	60	34	37 ($p < .10$)	34 ($p < .05$)	35
Training:					
Education or behavioral sciences:					
No	43	26	27	19	149
Yes	61 ($p < .02$)	22	55 ($p < .001$)	25	67
Business or economics:					
No	48	24	37	23	147
Yes	49	25	32	17	69
Law:					
No	47	26	39	18	139
Yes	51	22	30	27	77
Medicine, engineering, natural sciences:					
No	47	23	36	21	177
Yes	54	31	33	23	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:					
No	50	23	35	21	159
Yes	46	28	39	23	57
Knowledge:					
Developments in the economy and polity:					
Less knowledgeable	41	19	34	16	32
Knowledgeable	54	26	32	18	50
More knowledgeable	49	25	37	24	134
Developments in education:					
Less knowledgeable	27	12	19	23	26
Knowledgeable	37	22	32	17	59
More knowledgeable	58 ($p < .01$)	28	40 ($p < .10$)	23	131
Attitudes:					
Developments in the economy and polity:					
Least favorable	50	17	37	20	54
Less favorable	50	22	35	27	40
More favorable	46	33	34	20	70
Most favorable	50	23	37	19	52
Developments in education:					
Least favorable	33	15	36	23	39
Less favorable	44	23	31	14	70
More favorable	45	33	30	33	33
Most favorable	62 ($p < .05$)	27	42	22	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the question: "And university education in Colombia: what kinds of changes would you like to see in university education, if any?"

Criticisms were categorized according to their nature as personnel-related and system-related. Respondents who criticized teachers and/or students were said to have made personnel-related criticisms. Respondents who criticized methods, content, facilities, and/or organization of the present system were considered to have expressed a system-related criticism.

Changes proposed were divided into two categories: expansion of operation and administrative or academic reforms. People who called for junior colleges, graduate education, technological education, and/or research were considered to have asked for expansion of programs; people who asked for fewer universities, departmentalization of faculties, full-time teachers, tighter discipline, university autonomy, higher salaries, and/or minimizing the "enciclopedismo" are considered to have called for administrative or academic reforms.

Changes in the expansion category imply new programs; changes in the administrative category, call for a "streamlining" of the present system.

TABLE 5

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Nature of Criticism of University Education and Nature of Changes Proposed)

Approaches to Problems in University Education	Dissatisfied	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Number
Nature of criticism				
Personnel-related				
No	39	57	5	111
Yes	33	58	9	105
System-related				
No	34	59	7	163
Yes	42	53	6	53
Nature of changes proposed				
Expansion of programs				
No	38	55	7	139
Yes	32	62	5	77
Administrative or academic reforms				
No	37	56	6	170
Yes	33	61	7	46

did not take into account their perceptions as to whether education is a force for change, whether progress in education is moving as fast as change in the society, and whether education is an asset to society.

This rather disconcerting interpretation, however, does not answer the question posed earlier as to why educators were less likely to express a qualified attitude toward education.

One suggestion comes from the cross-tabulation of attitude toward education against the respondents' opinions as to: (1) the roles education should prepare people for, i.e., leadership, economic, or teaching; (2) the orientations education should inculcate in people, i.e., social concern, an instrumental orientation, a value-expressive orientation, and a "general" orientation;[30] and (3) the primary function met by the educational process, i.e., formative or informative. Tables 6, 7, and 8 show the respondents' opinions on these issues.

There were no significant relationships between attitude toward education and any of these defined "objectives" of the educational system (see Table 9). However, when position and training were controlled, one significant relationship emerged: among educators, attitude toward education was related to the belief that education should inculcate social concern, with the educators making this stand being less likely to express a qualified response (see Table 10). It would thus appear that the difference between the educators and non-educators with respect to attitude toward education was traceable to the educators' tendency to relate their attitude to the feeling that the educational system should inculcate social concern.

Compared to educators who did not apply social concern as a standard, educators who did were more likely to be unfavorable toward the educational system; they were also more likely to be favorable. This would seem to indicate the heterogeneity of the educators' perceptions of the educational system to which they applied the social concern standard.

Thus, it appeared that: (1) the respondents' attitude toward education as acting and being acted upon in the developmental process was not relevant to their definition of educational problems and their proposal of solutions; (2) the differences in attitude toward education seemed to be most efficiently explained by position as an educator or non-educator; and (3) educators tended to relate attitude in education to the belief that education should inculcate social concern. Beyond

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[30] Responses to the effect that education should prepare people suitable for the temper of the times and other such unspecific answers were placed in the "general" category.

TABLE 6

ROLES THAT EDUCATION SHOULD PREPARE PEOPLE FOR[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Teaching	Economic	Leadership	Number
Sector of Influence:				
Economy:				
Influentials	7	42	20	40
Non-influentials	15	48	18	176
Government:				
High influentials	11	51	13	47
Low influentials	18	50	15	34
Non-influentials	14	45	21	135
Education:				
High influentials	21	32	14	28
Middle influentials	19	42	23	52
Low influentials	20	49	20	35
Non-influentials	7	53	16	101
Church:				
Influentials	8	63	21	24
Non-influentials	15	45	18	192
Other:				
Influentials	15	56	12	34
Non-influentials	14	46	19	182
Profession:				
Educator	22	41	22	102
Non-educator	7 ($p < .01$)	53	15	114
National Origin:				
Colombian	13	50	18	181
Foreigner	17	31 ($p < .10$)	17	35
Age:				
Under 40	14	40	23	43
40's	15	51	21	75
50's	11	48	12	66
Over 60	19	47	16	32
Family Background:				
"Mixed"	7	41	15	27
New elite	12	51	22	65
Traditional elite	16	53	17	89
Foreigner	17	31	17	35
Place of Residence:				
Bogotá	13	43	13	102
Outside Bogotá	14	59	25	79
Foreigner	17	31 ($p < .02$)	17 ($p < .10$)	35
Training:				
Education or behavioral sciences:				
No	13	48	20	149
Yes	16	45	13	67
Business or economics:				
No	15	41	20	147
Yes	12	59 ($p < .05$)	13	69
Law:				
No	14	43	17	139
Yes	13	55	21	77
Medicine, engineering, natural sciences:				
No	11	49	16	177
Yes	26 ($p < .05$)	41	26	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:				
No	17	45	16	159
Yes	5 ($p < .05$)	53	23	57
Knowledge:				
Developments in the economy and polity:				
Less knowledgeable	16	25	19	32
Knowledgeable	14	50	20	50
More knowledgeable	13	51 ($p < .05$)	17	134
Development in education:				
Less knowledgeable	0	23	12	26
Knowledgeable	14	46	14	59
More knowledgeable	17 ($p < .10$)	53 ($p < .05$)	21	131
Attitudes:				
Developments in the economy and polity:				
Least favorable	11	44	20	54
Less favorable	15	35	20	40
More favorable	11	46	16	70
Most favorable	19	62 ($p < .10$)	17	52
Developments in education:				
Least favorable	5	38	8	39
Less favorable	16	46	19	70
More favorable	3	55	27	33
Most favorable	22 ($p < .05$)	50 ($p < .01$)	19	74

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[a] In answer to the question "What would you say are some of the roles for which education should especially be preparing Colombian citizens now?", the respondents spoke of teaching, economic, and leadership roles.

A respondent was said to have made an economic response if he named at least one economic role, e.g., agriculture, technology, middle level, and/or professions and services. The leadership role mentioned was primarily political.

TABLE 7

ROLE OF EDUCATION: INCULCATING ATTITUDES[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Social Concern	Instrumental Orientation	Value-Expressive Orientation	General Response	Number
Sector of Influence:					
Economy:					
Influentials	67	55	50	65	40
Non-influentials	64	53	49	61	176
Government:					
High influentials	53	43	43	60	47
Low influentials	65	53	50	53	34
Non-influentials	69	57	52	64	135
Education:					
High influentials	79	57	39	75	28
Middle influentials	73	62	52	67	52
Low influentials	60	60	57	51	35
Non-influentials	58	46	49	58	101
Church:					
Influentials	63	54	58	67	24
Non-influentials	65	53	48	61	192
Other:					
Influentials	68	50	38	56	34
Non-influentials	64	54	52	63	182
Profession:					
Educator	72	62	56	66	102
Non-educator	59 ($p < .10$)	46 ($p < .05$)	44	58	114
National Origin:					
Colombian	64	51	51	60	181
Foreigner	69	63	43	71	35
Age:					
Under 40	67	60	47	70	43
40's	61	56	48	68	75
50's	64	47	52	53	66
Over 60	72	50	53	53	32
Family Background:					
"Mixed"	59	48	59	67	27
New elite	55	49	45	55	65
Traditional elite	72	54	53	61	89
Foreigner	69	63	43	71	35
Place of Residence:					
Bogotá	67	51	48	62	102
Outside Bogotá	61	52	54	57	79
Foreigner	69	63	43	71	35
Training:					
Education or behavioral sciences:					
No	62	51	48	62	149
Yes	72	58	54	61	67
Business or economics:					
No	66	58	48	65	147
Yes	62	43 ($p < .10$)	52	55	69
Law:					
No	67	54	51	62	139
Yes	61	52	47	61	77
Medicine, engineering, natural sciences:					
No	63	53	51	60	177
Yes	72	56	41	69	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:					
No	67	52	46	60	159
Yes	58	56	60	65	57
Knowledge:					
Developments in the economy and polity:					
Less knowledgeable	69	56	59	63	32
Knowledgeable	56	44	44	58	50
More knowledgeable	67	56	49	63	134
Developments in education:					
Less knowledgeable	54	50	35	69	26
Knowledgeable	58	49	54	51	59
More knowledgeable	70	56	50	65	131
Attitudes:					
Developments in the economy and polity:					
Least favorable	69	50	37	59	54
Less favorable	65	63	57	70	40
More favorable	56	46	53	60	70
Most favorable	73	60	52	60	52
Developments in education:					
Least favorable	67	33	36	51	39
Less favorable	67	59	54	67	70
More favorable	52	64	48	70	33
Most favorable	68	54 ($p < .05$)	53	58	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the questions
(1) "What would you say are some of the roles for which education should especially be preparing Colombian citizens now?" and
(2) "It is often said that the purpose of an education system is to produce 'well-educated' men and women. What do you think the term 'well-educated' should mean in Colombia?"

Attitude responses to the first question were categorized according to whether they were related to social concern, an instrumental orientation, a value-expressive orientation, or were merely some general responses. Attitude responses to the second question were categorized likewise. Knowledge responses to the second question were categorized according to whether they implied social awareness, practical knowledge, theoretical knowledge, or general knowledge. Four summative indexes were created out of: (1) the social concern and awareness responses, (2) the instrumental and practical knowledge responses, (3) the value-expressive and theoretical knowledge responses, and (4) the general responses. Respondents were categorized according to whether or not they gave one response of a kind.

TABLE 8

FUNCTION OF EDUCATION[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Informative Function	Formative Function	Number
Sector of Influence:			
Economy:			
Influentials	10	50	40
Non-influentials	24 (p < .10)	48	176
Government:			
High influentials	15	43	47
Low influentials	21	47	34
Non-influentials	24	50	135
Education:			
High influentials	39	61	28
Middle influentials	25	62	52
Low influentials	23	31	35
Non-influentials	14 (p < .05)	44 (p < .02)	101
Church:			
Influentials	21	46	24
Non-influentials	21	48	192
Other:			
Influentials	24	44	34
Non-influentials	21	49	182
Profession:			
Educator	28	55	102
Non-educator	15 (p < .05)	42 (p < .10)	114
National Origin:			
Colombian	22	50	181
Foreigner	17	40	35
Age:			
Under 40	33	40	43
40's	27	51	75
50's	12	41	66
Over 60	13 (p < .05)	69 (p < .05)	32
Family Background:			
"Mixed"	26	48	27
New elite	20	45	65
Traditional elite	22	54	89
Foreigner	17	40	35
Place of Residence:			
Bogotá	22	54	102
Outside Bogotá	23	44	79
Foreigner	17	40	35
Training:			
Education or behavioral science:			
No	17	46	149
Yes	30 (p < .10)	54	67
Business or economics:			
No	22	50	147
Yes	19	43	69
Law:			
No	[illegible]9	48	139
Yes	[illegible]5	48	77
Medicine, engineering, natural sciences:			
No	20	49	177
Yes	28	46	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:			
No	21	46	159
Yes	23	54	57
Knowledge:			
Developments in the economy and polity:			
Less knowledgeable	19	56	32
Knowledgeable	14	40	50
More knowledgeable	25	49	134
Developments in education:			
Less knowledgeable	12	38	26
Knowledgeable	15	41	59
More knowledgeable	26	53	131
Attitudes:			
Developments in the economy and polity:			
Least favorable	6	48	54
Less favorable	35	50	40
More favorable	19	41	70
Most favorable	31 (p < .01)	56	52
Development in education:			
Least favorable	5	38	39
Less favorable	23	54	70
More favorable	27	39	33
Most favorable	26 (p < .10)	51	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the question

"It's often said that the purpose of an education system is to produce 'well-educated' men and women. What do you think the term 'well-educated' should mean in Colombia?"

Two summative indices were created, one from the knowledge responses, the other from the attitude responses. Respondents who made more than one knowledge or attitude response were said to have the informative or formative function, respectively.

TABLE 9

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for Which Education Should Prepare People, by Orientations It Should Inculcate, and Function of Education)

	Dissatisfied	Neither Dissatisfied Nor Satisfied	Satisfied	Number
Roles for which education should prepare people				
Leadership				
No	38	56	6	177
Yes	26	64	10	39
Economic				
No	39	55	6	114
Yes	33	60	7	102
Teaching				
No	35	59	6	186
Yes	40	50	10	30
Orientations that education should inculcate				
Social Concern				
No	34	62	4	76
Yes	37	55	8	140
Instrumental				
No	36	59	5	101
Yes	37	56	8	115
Value-expressive				
No	38	55	7	109
Yes	35	60	6	107
"General"				
No	39	55	6	83
Yes	35	59	7	133
Function of education				
Informative				
No	36	59	5	170
Yes	37	50	13	46
Formative				
No	31	62	7	112
Yes	41	53	6	104

TABLE 10

ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Proposal that Education Should Inculcate Social Concern, with Position as Educator or Non-Educator Controlled)

Advocacy of Social Concern	Dissatisfied	Neither Dissatisfied Nor Satisfied	Satisfied	Number
Educators				
No	28	69	3	29
Yes	47	42	11 (p < .05)	73
Non-educators				
No	38	57	4	47
Yes	27	69	4	67

these findings, it is possible to speculate that educators probably perceived change as bringing about dislocations within the social system and felt that the function of education was to try to cushion the effects of these dislocations.

The relationship between attitude toward education and social concern -- significant only among educators -- raises other important questions related to the way or ways in which they organized their opinions about the educational system.

Respondents' Views of the Educational System: One Structure or Divisible?

The first question is whether the respondents tended to view the educational system as a single structure whose component parts acted in coordination in the process of informing, forming, and training individuals for societal roles, inculcating in them the appropriate orientations.

The evidence favors a negative answer to this question.

Of the eight "objectives" of education defined by the respondents, only one -- the fairly general statement that education performs an informative function -- was related to the respondents' citation of standards that should be met by elementary and secondary schools (see Table 11).

With respect to the university level, there were more significant relationships between these "objectives" of education and the respondents' definition of university problems as system- or personnel-related and their proposal of administrative solutions or an expansion of university programs (see Tables 12, 13, and 14).

1. Respondents who believed education should prepare people for leadership roles were more likely to make personnel-related criticisms of university education, citing students and/or teachers as problem areas.

However, when position as educator or non-educator was controlled, this significant difference persisted only among the educators.

2. Respondents who believed education should prepare people for economic roles were more likely to propose an expansion of university programs, suggesting junior colleges, graduate education, technological education, and/or research. When position as educator or non-educator was controlled, the significant relationship between the advocacy of economic roles and the proposal of an expansion of university

TABLE 11

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for Which Education Should Prepare People, Orientations It Should Inculcate, and Functions of Education)

	Dissatisfied	Neither Dissatisfied Nor Satisfied	Satisfied	Number
Roles for which education should prepare people				
Leadership				
No	55	16	28	177
Yes	51	21	28	39
Economic				
No	53	17	31	114
Yes	57	18	25	102
Teaching				
No	56	17	27	186
Yes	47	20	33	30
Orientations that education should inclucate				
Social Concern				
No	49	14	37	76
Yes	58	19	24	140
Instrumental				
No	56	15	29	101
Yes	53	19	28	115
Value-expressive				
No	52	19	28	109
Yes	57	15	28	107
"General"				
No	55	17	28	83
Yes	54	17	29	133
Function of education				
Informative				
No	49	18	33	170
Yes	74	15	11 ($p < .01$)	46
Formative				
No	54	14	32	112
Yes	56	20	24	104

TABLE 12

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for Which Education Should Prepare People, Orientations It Should Inculcate, and Functions of Education)

	Nature of Criticism		Nature of Changes Proposed		
	Personnel-Related	System-Related	Expansion of Programs	Administrative or Academic Reforms	Number
Roles for which education should prepare people					
Leadership					
No	42	26	35	22	177
Yes	77 $(p < .001)$	18	38	18	39
Economic					
No	45	24	29	22	114
Yes	53	25	43 $(p < .05)$	21	102
Teaching					
No	47	22	33	19	186
Yes	57	43 $(p < .02)$	53 $(p < .05)$	33	30
Orientation that education should inculcate					
Social Concern					
No	43	22	32	13	76
Yes	51	26	38	26 $(p < .05)$	140
Instrumental					
No	41	23	36	18	101
Yes	56 $(p < .05)$	26	36	24	115
Value-Expressive					
No	44	22	39	22	109
Yes	53	27	33	21	107
"General"					
No	40	23	36	22	83
Yes	54 $(p < .10)$	26	35	21	133
Function of education					
Informative					
No	43	22	35	18	170
Yes	70 $(p < .01)$	33	39	35 $(p < .05)$	46
Formative					
No	46	27	30	24	112
Yes	52	22	41	18	104

TABLE 13

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for which Education Should Prepare People, with Position as Educator or Non-Educator and Training in Education or Not in Education Controlled)

	Personnel-Related	System-Related	Expansion of University Programs	Number
Educators				
Roles for which education should prepare people				
Leadership				
No	51			80
Yes	95 ($p < .001$)			22
Economic				
No			40	60
Yes			60 ($p < .10$)	42
Teaching				
No		17	47	80
Yes		45 ($p < .02$)	50	22
Non-Educators				
Roles for which education should prepare people				
Leadership				
No	35			97
Yes	53			17
Economic				
No			17	54
Yes			32	60
Teaching				
No		25	22	106
Yes		38	63	8
Respondents Trained in Education				
Roles for which education should prepare people				
Leadership				
No	55			58
Yes	100			9
Economic				
No			51	37
Yes			60	30
Teaching				
No		20	54	56
Yes		36	64	11
Respondents Not Trained in Education				
Roles for which education should prepare people				
Leadership				
No	36			119
Yes	70 ($p < .01$)			30
Economic				
No			18	77
Yes			36 ($p < .05$)	72
Teaching				
No		22	24	130
Yes		47	47 ($p < .10$)	19

TABLE 14

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Orientations Education Should Inculcate and Functions of Education, with Position as Educator or Non-Educator and Training in Education or Not in Education Controlled)

	Personnel-Related Criticism	Administrative or Academic Reforms	Number
	Educators		
Orientations that education should inculcate			
Social Concern			
No		10	29
Yes		29 ($p < .10$)	73
Instrumental			
No	54		39
Yes	65		63
Function of education			
Informative			
No	53	14	73
Yes	79 ($p < .05$)	48 ($p < .001$)	29
	Non-Educators		
Orientations that education should inculcate			
Social Concern			
No		15	47
Yes		22	67
Instrumental			
No	32		62
Yes	44		52
Function of education			
Informative			
No	33	21	97
Yes	53	12	17
	Respondents Trained in Education		
Orientations that education should inculcate			
Social Concern			
No		5	19
Yes		33 ($p < .05$)	48
Instrumental			
No	57		28
Yes	64		39
Function of education			
Informative			
No	53	17	47
Yes	80 ($p < .10$)	45 ($p < .05$)	20
	Respondents Not Trained in Education		
Orientations that education should inculcate			
Social Concern			
No		16	57
Yes		22	92
Instrumental			
No	34		73
Yes	51 ($p < .10$)		76
Function of education			
No	39	18	123
Yes	62 ($p < .10$)	27	26

programs held true only among the educators. When training in education was controlled, it held true only among those respondents trained in other fields.

3. Respondents who believed education should prepare people for teaching roles were more likely to make system-related criticisms of the university, pointing to methods, content, facilities, and/or administration as problem areas and to propose an expansion of university programs.

The former relationship, however, turned out to be true only with respect to educators; the latter relationship persisted only among those respondents trained in education.

4. Respondents who believed education should inculcate social concern were more likely to propose administrative and academic reforms, such as fewer universities, departmentalization of faculties, full-time teachers, tighter discipline, university autonomy, higher salaries, and a minimization of "enciclopedismo."

This relationship, it turned out, persisted only among educators and among those trained as such.

5. Respondents who believed that education should inculcate an instrumental orientation were more likely to make personnel-related criticism of the university.

This relationship held true only among respondents not trained as educators.

6. Respondents who identified the educational process to be primarily an informative one were more likely to make personnel-related criticisms of the university and to propose administrative and academic solutions.

The former relationship persisted after training in education was controlled; it held true among educators after position as educator or non-educator was controlled. The latter relationship held true only among educators and among those trained as such.

By and large, the evidence would suggest that among educators and those trained as such the roles education should prepare people for, the orientations it should inculcate, and the functions it should perform -- as perceived by them -- tended to be related to their perceptions with respect to the university level.

This would suggest that educators and those trained as such tended to dissociate the university from the elementary and secondary school levels and related their definition of the "objectives" of education to their perceptions of the university level. On the other hand, non-educators showed no tendency to relate their perceptions of the elementary and secondary or university levels to what they expected the educational system to do.

Further support for the suggestion of a tendency to dissociate the elementary and secondary from the university level comes from the interrelationships among the respondents' perceptions regarding the university level and the interrelationships among their perceptions regarding the elementary and secondary levels.

With respect to the university level: (1) respondents who cited system-related problems were more likely to propose administrative solutions and (2) those who cited personnel-related problems were more likely to propose an expansion of university programs (see Table 15). This would seem to indicate that the respondents tended to believe that while flaws within the present organization and administration of the university system might be remedied through streamlining the system, those who felt that the quality of the students and faculty left much to be desired believed that an expansion of university programs -- involving far-reaching changes within the present system -- would bring about improvement in faculty and student competence.

The relationship between the definition of university problems as system-related and the proposal of administrative and academic reforms persisted when the respondents' positions as educators or non-educators and their training as educators or otherwise were controlled (see Table 16).

However, the relationship of a personnel-related definition of university problems with the proposal for an expansion of university programs was significant only among non-educators and respondents trained in fields other than education. Moreover, among educators, such personnel-related criticisms tended to be associated with the proposal of administrative and academic solutions (see Table 16).

While educators, non-educators, and respondents trained as educators apparently did not differ in the belief that flaws within the present organization and administration of the university system might be remedied through "streamlining" measures, they disagreed on personnel-related problems: educators and those trained as such tended to propose academic and administrative solutions while non-educators and those trained in fields other than education were more likely to propose an expansion of university programs.

With respect to the elementary and secondary school levels, the respondents were fairly consistent in that those who cited problems were likely to point to programs and/or standards. However, there was no significant relationship between the citing of standards and the suggestion of programs (see Table 17). It appears that the weakest link

TABLE 15

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION: NATURE OF CHANGES PROPOSED

(Percentage Distribution by Nature of Criticism)

	Expansion of Programs	Administrative & Academic Reforms	Number
Nature of Criticism			
Personnel-related			
No	23	18	111
Yes	50 ($p < .001$)	25	105
System-related			
No	36	13	163
Yes	34	47 ($p < .001$)	53

TABLE 16

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION: NATURE OF CHANGES PROPOSED

(Percentage Distribution by Nature of Criticism, with Position as Educator or Non-Educator and Training in Education or Not in Education Controlled)

	Expansion of Programs	Administrative & Academic Reforms	Number
	Educators		
Nature of criticism			
Personnel-related			
No	40	13	40
Yes	53	31 ($p < .10$)	62
System-related			
No	47	15	78
Yes	50	50 ($p < .01$)	24
	Non-Educators		
Nature of criticism			
Personnel-related			
No	13	21	71
Yes	44 ($p < .001$)	16	43
System-related			
No	26	11	85
Yes	21	45 ($p < .001$)	29
	Respondents Trained in Education		
Nature of criticism			
Personnel-related			
No	42	15	26
Yes	63	32	41
System-related			
40	56	15	52
Yes	53	60 ($p < .05$)	15
	Respondents Not Trained in Education		
Nature of criticism			
Personnel-related			
No	16	19	85
Yes	41	20	64
System-related			
No	27	12	111
Yes	26	42 ($p < .001$)	38

TABLE 17

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distributions One by the Other)

	Cites Programs			Cites Standard		
	None	One	Two or More	None	One or More	Number
Cites Problem						
None	72	26	2	60	40	47
One	50	34	16	45	55	92
Two or More	22	48	30 ($p < .001$)	38	62 ($p < .10$)	77
Cites Programs						
None				48	52	97
One				44	56	80
Two or More				41	59	39

in the respondents' chain of reasoning with respect to the elementary and secondary school levels is the matching of programs with performance standards: there appears to be little correspondence between the stating of goals and the proposal of means toward these ends.

The lack of a significant relationship between the citation of standards and the proposal of programs was true both among educators and non-educators, among people trained in education and those who were not (see Table 18). Table 18 also shows the following interesting differences among the respondents:

1. Non-educators who pointed to problems were also likely to cite standards. This relationship between the definition of problems and citation of standards was not true among educators.

2. Respondents trained in fields other than education who named problems were also likely to cite standards. On the other hand, respondents trained in education who named problems were less likely to cite standards.

3. Non-educators who pointed to problems were also likely to suggest programs. This was not true of educators.

4. Respondents trained in fields other than education who named problems were likely to suggest programs. This was not true of respondents trained in education.

Earlier findings have suggested the differences that separate the educators from the non-educators. The present findings point to a possible factor that may make communication between them more difficult. While educators are more knowledgeable about educational matters than non-educators are, the present findings indicate that among educators, there were no relationships among the definition of problems, the proposal of programs, and the citing of standards with respect to the elementary and secondary level. This would suggest the tendency of educators to take a lot for granted (or perhaps, to expect to be believed on faith) when they talk about the educational system.

Given the different perspectives of educators and non-educators, the failure or refusal of the educators to state their premises will create difficulties for any attempt at dialogue.

TABLE 18

APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution One by the Other, with Position as Educator or Non-Educator and Training in Education or Not in Education Controlled)

	Cites Programs			Cites Standard		
	None	One	Two or More	None	One or More	Number
			Educators			
Cites Problem						
None	60	33	7		60	15
One	38	38	23		62	39
Two or More	15	48	38		58	48
Cites Programs						
None					61	31
One					60	43
Two or More					57	28
			Non-Educators			
Cites Problem						
None	78	22			31	32
One	58	30	11		51	53
Two or More	34	48	17 ($p < .02$)		69 ($p < .02$)	29
Cites Programs						
None					47	66
One					51	37
Two or More					64	11
			Respondents Trained in Education			
Cites Problem						
None	43	57			71	7
One	35	30	35		78	23
Two or More	16	51	32		54 ($p < .10$)	37
Cites Programs						
None					53	17
One					70	30
Two or More					65	20
			Respondents Not Trained in Education			
Cites Problem						
None	77	20	2		35	40
One	55	35	10		48	69
Two or More	27	45	27 ($p < .001$)		70 ($p < .01$)	40
Cites Programs						
None					51	80
One					48	50
Two or More					53	19

Respondents' Definitions of the Educational System: One Process or Separable?

The next question is whether the respondents viewed the educational process as a single one wherein individuals at appropriate stages received the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary for them to perform their roles in Colombian society.

It would be expected that the respondents who felt that education should prepare people for given roles should be consistent in that they would also propose that education should inculcate those orientations appropriate to these roles.

The evidence on this point is not very encouraging (see Tables 19 and 20).

1. It was expected that respondents who advocated leadership roles would also expect the educational system to inculcate an instrumental-orientation. This expectation was confirmed.

Moreover, advocacy of leadership roles tended to be more frequent among respondents who proposed the "general" orientation. This is not inconsistent, but somewhat more difficult to explain. It is suggested here that the "general" response -- a vague statement to the effect that education should produce "the type of people needed today" -- simply reflects some vague discontent with the educational system that the respondents did not quite know how to verbalize specifically. Its direct relationship to the advocacy of leadership roles might be taken as a sign that the respondents were probably unsure or ambivalent about the orientations that make for the playing of leadership roles.

These direct relationships between the proposal of leadership roles and the advocacy of an instrumental orientation and a "general" orientation held true only among non-educators and those trained in fields other than education. Educators and those trained as such, it appeared, were not able to think in terms of orientations appropriate to leadership roles, or perhaps did not think it necessary to do so.

2. It was expected that respondents proposing economic roles would also expect education to inculcate an instrumental-orientation. This expectation was strongly disconfirmed.

Moreover, advocates of economic roles tended to be less frequent among those who felt that the educational system should inculcate social concern or the "general orientation." The negative relationship with social concern would seem to indicate that to quite a number of respondents, increasing one's wealth is rather inconsistent with concern about the community's welfare. Further, the negative relationship

TABLE 19

ORIENTATIONS THAT EDUCATION SHOULD INCULCATE

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for Which Education Should Prepare People)

	Social Concern	Instrumental	Value-Expressive	"General"	Number
Roles for which education should prepare people					
Leadership					
No	67	47	48	58	177
Yes	54	82 ($p < .001$)	56	79 ($p < .02$)	39
Economic					
No	72	65	50	74	114
Yes	57 ($p < .05$)	40 ($p < .001$)	49	48 ($p < .001$)	102
Teaching					
No	63	53	49	63	186
Yes	73	57	50	53	30

TABLE 20

ORIENTATIONS THAT EDUCATION SHOULD INCULCATE

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for Which Education Should Prepare People, with Position as Educator or Non-Educator and Training in Education or Not in Education Controlled)

	Instrumental	"General"	Number
	Educators		
Roles for which education should prepare people			
Leadership			
No	57	64	80
Yes	77	73	22
Economic			
No	70		60
Yes	50 ($p < .10$)		42
	Non-Educators		
Roles for which education should prepare people			
Leadership			
No	38	53	97
Yes	88 ($p < .001$)	88 ($p < .02$)	17
Economic			
No	59		54
Yes	33 ($p < .01$)		60
	Respondents Trained in Education		
Roles for which education should prepare people			
Leadership			
No	55	59	58
Yes	78	78	9
Economic			
No	70		37
Yes	43 ($p < .05$)		30
	Respondents Not Trained in Education		
Roles for which education should prepare people			
Leadership			
No	43	57	119
Yes	83 ($p < .001$)	80 ($p < .05$)	30
Economic			
No	62		77
Yes	39 ($p < .01$)		72

with the "general" orientation would seem to indicate less uncertainty among advocates of economic roles as to the personal characteristics that go into these roles.

The inverse relationship between the advocacy of economic roles and the proposal of an instrumental-orientation was true among educators and non-educators, among respondents trained as educators or otherwise.

3. There were no relationships between advocacy of teaching roles and any of the orientations education was expected to inculcate.

These findings suggest that if the respondents have an incomplete grasp of the concept of education as a modernizing agent, this may be partly traceable to an incomplete understanding of the concept of modernization itself, particularly its social and psychological implications.

Moreover, it appears that this incomplete grasp of the implications of development seems to be more frequent among educators. While educators and non-educators were equally unable to relate any orientation with teaching roles or to note the contradiction between the proposal of economic roles and the advocacy of pattern orientation, educators were unable to relate leadership roles to any orientation.

Moreover, the tendency to consider social concern as inconsistent with economic roles seems to suggest a definition of the wealth-enhancing process as a struggle to get the largest share of the pie and as such, somewhat inconsistent with concern over the lot of one's fellows.

Summary

This chapter may be summed up as a tracing of "insider-outsider" differences: people within the educational sector being different from people outside it, with the former tending to be more able to organize their perceptions of problems, their choice of standards of evaluation, and their proposal of means toward solving these problems while the latter's organization of perceptions, standards, and solutions tended to be rather haphazard and, if organized, tended to reflect a stand that was not necessarily to the advantage of the educational sector but rather tended to be related to the interests -- and perhaps, ignorance and prejudices -- of the sectors of society outside the educational system.

This, of course, might have been expected. There would always be differences in the discussion of a sector of society to which one individual is affiliated and the other not. The individual not affiliated to the sector of society being discussed would tend to approach it either in terms of its relationship to the total society or to that sector of the society to which he is affiliated.

It would be expected that the respondents' views of the educational process will be conditioned to a large degree by their own experience, that is, their analysis of the situation, their goals, their experiences with the means available, and their norms for choosing with the means available, and their norms for choosing among means and ends. These experiences are to a large extent, conditioned upon their positions within society. It is thus more reasonable to suppose that non-educators had a greater tendency to approach the educational system in terms of its relationship to the sectors to which they were affiliated. This relationship -- assuming it was perceived to exist -- could be viewed as advantageous, disadvantageous, or irrelevant. The non-educators tended to have a less flattering view of the educational system than did the educators themselves, this point to be discussed at greater length in Chapter IX.

Suffice it to say at this point that the educators' rather incomplete grasp of the sociological and psychological implications of the developmental process (this was particularly true of those who were not trained as educators) and the non-educators' incomplete knowledge about the educational process and their consequent tendency to approach it in terms of their sectoral interests suggest that it is a little premature for a dialogue on the role of education in Colombian national development. The more immediate task, it would seem, is laying the basis for such a dialogue. This inability to see the sociological and psychological implications of the developmental process is especially unfortunate because it is particularly the preparation of people to play "modern" roles and the inculcation of "modern" orientations which constitute the key roles of the educational system in the developmental process. Educators would be expected to be the first ones to recognize the developmental role of the educational system.

Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the educators appear to have some vague feeling that education should play a role in the developmental process and many, no doubt, are aware of the lacunae in their knowledge and, if given the opportunity, would be willing to learn.

But learning would only be a beginning. There would still remain the problem of communicating the idea of a developmental role for the educational system to other influentials in the society. The problem of bridging the communication gap suggested here would have to be met.

CHAPTER VI

THE VIEW OF MODERNIZATION: DEFINITIONS AND POLICY CHOICES

Overview

The previous chapter traced the Colombian influentials' opinions about the educational system, suggesting a pattern of "insider-outsider" differences. It was proposed that the influentials' views of the educational process were conditioned largely by the positions they occupied. Similarly, in the description that follows of the influentials' opinions about development, it is proposed that the distribution of opinions will tend to reflect differences in the respondents' experience of modernization -- experience that, by and large, is conditioned on their positions within society.

However, unlike the educational process which is the focus of activity of nearly half of the respondents, the modernization process is experienced by the respondents by and large indirectly -- the experience being mediated by the developments in the sector to which each respondent is affiliated.

This is the basis for the expectation that the distribution of the respondents' opinions will reflect differences in their positions. Also supporting this expectation are the previous findings which suggest that position tends to explain more differences in attitude, opinions, and proposals than do the respondents' perception of the problems and their norms for evaluating performance.

What follows is a description of the distribution of: (1) the Colombian influentials' choices of four programs to which they would assign priority in the master-plan of national development, with particular emphasis on the number of (a) economic programs, (b) educational programs, (c) instrumental programs, and (d) value-expressive programs they selected; (2) their definitions of development; and (3) the relationship between their choice of programs and their definitions of development.

The distribution of the programs chosen and definitions of development will be described in terms of position (sector in which the respondent exercises influence), personal characteristics (age, region of origin, family background), and knowledge and attitudes (recent developments in politics, economics, and education).

It will be noted that some of these choices deal with the perception of the total modernization process while others deal with specific facets of it -- facets that have direct impact on only one or two sectors of society. Particularly with respect to the latter, it was expected that there would be a tendency for the respondents' opinions to reflect their sectoral interests. The extent to which sectoral interests would affect opinions on modernization would to a large degree depend upon whether development is conceived of as a multidimensional integrated process or whether it is viewed as the growth of one sector at the expense of the other.

In the former case, the influential would be more likely to adopt the stance of a rational man, a person who views the situation, weighs the costs and benefits, and decides on the most efficient and effective course of action. In the latter case, the influential would be more likely to adopt the stance of a guardian-spokesman who scans the environment for opportunities and dangers for his sector and tends to limit his participation in the public dialogue to an apologia for sectoral interests.

Patterns of Choice: Sets of Programs

Though attitude toward education was rather unfavorable, it is interesting to note that the respondents did not hesitate to recommend education when asked to name the four programs they would emphasize if they were to design a master plan for Colombian national development over the next decade.

Specifically, 73 per cent named elementary education -- the program most frequently named. Secondary and university education, named respectively by 38 and 39 per cent of the respondents, were favored after agricultural development (61 per cent), economic development (54 per cent) and public health and nutrition (53 per cent) and preferred to political reform (36 per cent) and public works (31 per cent).

Also of interest is the number of educational programs (elementary, secondary, and university education) chosen: 10 per cent chose none; 52 per cent, one; 22 per cent, two; and 15 percent, three. The interpretation of these figures may become clearer if they are compared to the pattern of choices for economic programs (agricultural development, economic development, and public works): 11 per cent chose no economic programs; 40 percent, one; 42 per cent, two; and seven per cent, three.

There is still another way of classifying the programs -- the three economic programs plus political reform may be termed the instrumental programs while the three educational programs plus public health and nutrition may be termed the value-expressive programs.

Of the instrumental programs, eight per cent of the respondents chose none; 22 per cent, one; 51 per cent, two, 18 per cent, three; and one per cent, four. Of the value-expressive programs, five per cent chose none; 19 per cent, one; 91 per cent, two; 21 per cent, three; and five per cent, four.

As might have been expected, influentials in the educational sector, educators, respondents trained in education, and respondents more knowledgeable about recent developments in education were likely to propose a greater number of educational programs. Influentials in the religious sector showed a similar pattern. Also, Bogota residents were twice as likely as non-residents to propose two educational programs and, compared to these two Colombian groups, foreigners were least likely to propose all three educational programs (see Table 21).

With respect to the number of economic programs proposed, Table 21 also shows that educational influentials, educators, and those trained as educators were likely to propose fewer economic programs. Number of economic programs proposed was also related to influence in the economic sector as well as to knowledge about recent developments in economics and politics.

Not surprisingly, the patterns of choice of instrumental and value-expressive programs do not differ very much from the patterns of choice of economic and educational programs respectively. Table 22 shows that influentials in the educational sector, educators, respondents trained as educators, those more knowledgeable about developments in education, and those more favorable toward these developments were likely to name more value-expressive programs; all respondents with legal training were likely to name fewer value-expressive programs. The reverse pattern was true with respect to the number of instrumental programs chosen. Knowledge about recent developments in economics and politics as well as attitude toward these developments were also related to number of instrumental programs chosen.

Patterns of Choice: Specific Programs

As regards specific programs, the significant relationships are as follows (see Table 23):

1. The choice of economic development was inversely related to (a) influence in education, (b) status as an educator, and (c) age.

TABLE 21

NUMBER OF ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Economic Programs			Educational Programs			
	None	One	Two or More	One or None	Two	Three	Number
Sector of Influence:							
Economy:							
Influentials	7	20	72	75	13	13	40
Non-influentials	12	44	44 (p < .01)	60	24	16	176
Government:							
High influentials	6	49	45	66	19	15	47
Low influentials	9	44	47	65	26	9	34
Non-influentials	13	36	51	61	22	17	135
Education:							
High influentials	25	43	32	61	18	21	28
Middle influentials	15	40	44	48	33	19	52
Low influentials	6	57	37	43	31	26	35
Non-influentials	7	33	60 (p < .01)	77	15	8 (p < .01)	101
Church:							
Influentials	17	42	42	42	38	21	24
Non-influentials	10	40	50	65	20	15 (p < .10)	192
Other:							
Influentials	6	41	53	76	18	6	34
Non-influentials	12	40	48	60	23	17	182
Profession:							
Educator	16	46	38	45	31	24	102
Non-educator	7	34	59 (p < .01)	78	14	8 (p < .001)	114
National Origin:							
Colombian	10	41	49	61	22	17	181
Foreigner	14	34	51	71	23	6	35
Age:							
Under 40	2	37	60	70	23	7	43
40's	12	47	41	57	23	20	75
50's	18	30	52	70	17	14	66
Over 60	6	47	47 (p < .10)	50	31	19	32
Family Background:							
"Mixed"	7	30	63	67	19	15	27
New elite	6	45	49	62	23	15	65
Traditional elite	15	42	44	58	22	19	89
Foreigner	14	34	51	71	23	6	35
Place of Residence:							
Bogotá	12	45	43	56	28	16	102
Outside Bogotá	9	35	56	67	14	19	79
Foreigner	14	34	51	71	23	6 (p < .10)	35
Training:							
Education or behavioral sciences:							
No	11	35	54	71	17	11	149
Yes	12	51	37 (p < .10)	43	33	24 (p < .001)	67
Business or economics:							
No	10	38	52	65	22	13	147
Yes	14	43	42	57	23	20	69
Law:							
No	12	43	45	60	24	16	139
Yes	10	34	56	66	19	14	77
Medicine, engineering, natural sciences:							
No	12	39	49	61	25	14	177
Yes	8	44	49	69	10	21	33
Humanities, journalism, theology:							
No	11	42	47	64	21	15	159
Yes	12	33	54	58	26	16	57
Knowledge:							
Developments in the economy and polity:							
Less knowledgeable	28	44	28	53	22	25	32
Knowledgeable	12	40	48	68	22	10	50
More knowledgeable	7	39	54 (p < .01)	63	22	15	134
Developments in education:							
Less knowledgeable	8	27	65	85	12	4	26
Knowledgeable	12	44	44	61	27	12	59
More knowledgeable	11	40	48	59	22	19 (p < .10)	131
Attitudes:							
Developments in the economy and polity:							
Least favorable	11	44	44	63	24	13	54
Less favorable	15	32	52	57	22	20	40
More favorable	10	41	49	60	26	14	70
Most favorable	10	38	52	69	15	15	52
Developments in education:							
Least favorable	8	38	54	69	23	8	39
Less favorable	10	40	50	64	27	9	70
More favorable	9	45	45	67	15	18	33
Most favorable	15	38	47	55	20	24	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the question: "Next I would like to ask about some specific programs of development. Let me show you a small list of programs that I am thinking about. Each of these programs is costly. Each requires a large amount of money and manpower. If you were responsible for preparing a 'master-plan' for Colombian national development during the next decade, and if your resources permitted you to emphasize only four of these programs, which four would you choose to emphasize? (Economic development; Agricultural development; Elementary education; Secondary education; University education; Public works; Public health and nutrition; Political reform)."

The educational programs are elementary education, secondary education, and university education; the economic programs are economic development, agricultural development, and public works.

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF INSTRUMENTAL AND VALUE-EXPRESSIVE PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Instrumental Programs			Value-Expressive Programs			
	One or None	Two	Three or More	One or None	Two	Three or More	Number
Sector of Influence:							
Economy:							
Influentials	17	60	22	30	55	15	40
Non-Influentials	34	48	18	22	49	21	176
Government:							
High influentials	28	45	28	32	45	23	47
Low influentials	29	59	12	18	56	26	34
Non-influentials	32	50	18	21	51	27 (p < .10)	135
Education:							
High influentials	50	36	14	25	39	36	28
Middle influentials	40	44	15	15	44	40	52
Low influentials	37	51	11	14	51	34	35
Non-influentials	18	57	25 (p < .01)	30	56	14 (p < .10)	101
Church:							
Influentials	33	58	8	13	63	25	24
Non-influentials	30	49	20	24	49	27	192
Other:							
Influentials	18	65	18	18	65	18	34
Non-influentials	33	48	19	24	48	28	182
Profession:							
Educator	43	45	12	15	46	39	102
Non-educator	19	55	25 (p < .001)	31	54	15 (p < .001)	114
National Origin:							
Colombian	31	50	19	22	50	28	181
Foreigner	29	51	20	29	54	17 (p < .05)	35
Age:							
Under 40	16	47	37	40	47	14	43
40's	36	49	15	17	51	32	75
50's	30	58	12	21	56	23	66
Over 60	38	44	19 (p < .02)	19	44	38 (p < .10)	32
Family Background:							
"Mixed"	26	59	15	19	56	26	27
New elite	31	46	23	29	45	26	65
Traditional elite	33	51	17	18	52	30	89
Foreigner	29	51	20	29	54	17 (p < .10)	35
Place of Residence:							
Bogotá	34	51	15	19	50	31	102
Outside Bogotá	27	49	24	27	49	24	79
Foreigner	29	51	20	29	54	17	35
Training:							
Education or behavioral science:							
No	26	51	23	28	50	21	149
Yes	40	49	10 (p < .05)	12	51	37 (p < .01)	67
Business or economics:							
No	29	50	22	26	48	26	147
Yes	35	52	13	17	55	28	69
Law:							
No	32	55	13	18	54	28	139
Yes	27	43	30 (p < .01)	32	44	23 (p < .10)	77
Medicine, engineering or natural science:							
No	32	49	20	25	49	27	177
Yes	26	59	15	15	59	26	39
Humanities, journalism, or theology:							
No	31	50	19	22	50	28	159
Yes	30	53	18	26	51	23	57
Knowledge:							
Developments in the economy and polity:							
Less knowledgeable	47	44	9	19	47	34	32
Knowledgeable	32	42	26	34	42	24	50
More knowledgeable	26	53	19 (p < .10)	20	54	25	134
Developments in education:							
Less knowledgeable	15	50	35	42	50	8	26
Knowledgeable	31	58	12	19	54	27	59
More knowledgeable	34	47	19 (p < .10)	21	49	30 (p < .10)	131
Attitudes:							
Developments in the economy and polity:							
Least favorable	26	56	19	22	56	22	54
Less favorable	32	60	7	13	63	25	40
More favorable	40	43	17	23	43	34	70
Most favorable	21	48	31 (p < .10)	33	46	21	52
Developments in education:							
Least favorable	23	56	21	31	51	18	39
Less favorable	21	64	14	17	64	19	70
More favorable	39	39	21	24	42	33	33
Most favorable	39	39	22 (p < .10)	24	41	35 (p < .10)	74

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[a] The instrumental programs are economic development, agricultural development, public works, and political reform; the value-expressive programs are elementary education, secondary education, university education, and public health and nutrition.

TABLE 23

RECOMMENDED PROGRAMS

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Economic Development	Agricultural Development	Elementary Education	Secondary Education	University Education	Public Works	Public Health & Nutrition	Political Reform	Number
Sector of Influence:									
Economy:									
Influentials	65	70	72	25	38	38	55	25	40
Non-influentials	51	59	73	41 ($p < .10$)	40	30	52	38	176
Government:									
High influentials	55	64	72	26	45	34	45	43	47
Low influentials	44	68	82	29	29	29	68	35	34
Non-influentials	56	58	71	45 ($p < .05$)	40	30	52	33	135
Education:									
High influentials	39	50	50	46	61	18	54	36	28
Middle influentials	44	60	77	56	48	29	52	35	52
Low influentials	60	46	80	60	34	29	43	37	35
Non-influentials	60 ($p < .10$)	69 ($p < .10$)	75 ($p < .05$)	20 ($p <.001$)	31 ($p < .02$)	37	56	36	101
Church:									
Influentials	46	54	83	50	42	29	38	33	24
Non-influentials	55	61	72	37	39	31	55	36	192
Other:									
Influentials	59	50	71	26	32	44	68	50	34
Non-influentials	53	63	74	41	41	29	50 ($p < .10$)	33 ($p < .10$)	182
Profession:									
Educator	47	53	74	59	48	25	48	33	102
Non-educator	60 ($p < .10$)	68	73	20 ($p <.001$)	32 ($p < .02$)	36	57	38	114
National Origin:									
Colombian	52	62	77	35	41	31	54	35	181
Foreigner	60	54	51 ($p < .01$)	54 ($p < .10$)	31	29	46	37	35
Age:									
Under 40	72	63	63	30	37	33	40	53	43
40's	48	57	77	43	43	27	53	40	75
50's	50	58	65	38	39	35	61	26	66
Over 60	50 ($p < .10$)	72	94 ($p < .01$)	41	34	31	53	22 ($p < .01$)	32
Family Background:									
"Mixed"	56	78	85	30	33	30	59	26	27
New elite	54	63	72	31	43	34	45	38	65
Traditional elite	51	56	79	40	42	30	60	36	89
Foreigner	60	54	51 ($p < .01$)	54 ($p < .10$)	31	29	46	37	35
Place of Residence:									
Bogotá	46	57	75	39	44	35	56	34	102
Outside Bogotá	61	68	81	30	37	27	52	37	79
Foreigner	60	54	51 ($p < .01$)	54 ($p < .10$)	31	29	46	37	35
Knowledge									
Developments in the economy and polity:									
Less knowledgeable	44	47	66	50	53	9	50	38	32
Knowledgeable	50	58	62	36	34	36	56	42	50
More knowledgeable	57	65	79 ($p < .05$)	37	38	34 ($p < .02$)	52	33	134
Developments in education:									
Less knowledgeable	69	73	69	23	12	42	50	31	26
Knowledgeable	49	53	76	34	37	32	63	39	59
More knowledgeable	53	62	73	44	46 ($p < .01$)	28	49	35	131
Attitudes:									
Developments in the economy and polity:									
Least favorable	48	56	70	33	39	33	61	46	54
Less favorable	52	52	75	47	38	35	52	22	40
More favorable	56	64	70	46	39	27	51	27	70
Most favorable	58	67	79	27 ($p < .10$)	42	31	46	46 ($p < .02$)	52
Developments in education:									
Least favorable	54	72	72	33	28	28	49	30	39
Less favorable	57	54	79	31	30	34	61	40	70
More favorable	64	61	64	48	45	24	52	27	33
Most favorable	46	61	73	43	51 ($p < .05$)	32	47	34	74

2. The choice of agricultural development was: (a) inversely related to status as an educator; and (b) with respect to influence in education, high influentials resembled low influentials in being less likely to suggest agricultural development than middle- and non-influentials.

3. Public works was more likely to be recommended the more knowledge the respondent possessed about developments in the economic and political sectors.

4. The choice of elementary education, less frequent among the high educational influentials than among the middle-, low-, and non-influentials, was more frequent among (a) respondents more knowledgeable about developments in the political and economic sectors, (b) Colombians, and (c) respondents over 60.

5. The choice of secondary education was less likely among non-influentials in education than among influentials; among the educational influentials, however, the choice of secondary education was less likely the more influential the respondent was. Secondary education tended to be chosen less often by the respondents who were most favorable and those who were less favorable toward developments in the economic and political sectors.

6. The advocacy of university education was directly related to (a) influence in education, (b) knowledge about educational development, (c) favorableness toward educational developments, and (d) position as educator or non-educator.

7. The proposal of public health and nutrition was not significantly related to any of the independent variables, indicating that whichever way the population was split, there would be approximately 52 per cent of each subgroup that would consider public health and nutrition to be a component of the modernization program.

8. Political reform was (a) more likely to be endorsed by respondents influential in "other" fields (residual category of sectors of influence); (b) inversely related to age; and, (c) most likely (and equally likely) among individuals who were least favorable and most favorable to recent developments in the economic and political sectors.

Definitions of Development

On the other hand, the respondents' choices of programs for inclusion in a master plan of national development could reflect differences in the way they defined national development rather than their positions.

There are many ways of defining development. One could, for instance, define development primarily in economic terms, in political terms, in terms of the effectiveness of institutions such as the education, the Church, the media, and other organizations that define, explain, and interpret roles, values, and norms, or in terms of individuals' self-fulfillment, i.e., a higher standard of living, an ability and motivation to perform one's roles, an ability to reconcile different roles, etc. Or, to express this classification in the terminology introduced here earlier, a definition of development may emphasize the wealth-related capability, the power-related capability, the solidarity-related capability, or the character-building capability.

One might also classify definitions of development according to whether the definition is task-oriented or pattern-oriented, depending upon whether the respondent stresses the instrumental capabilities (the wealth- and power related capabilities) of the society and a task-orientation on the part of the individual or whether he stresses the value-expressive capabilities (the solidarity-related and character-building capabilities) of the society and a pattern-orientation on the part of the individual.

One might also classify definitions of development according to whether they are systematic or non-systemic, i.e., whether they take into account an enhancement of all four societal capabilities or whether they do not.

Fifty per cent of the respondents stressed the wealth-related capability; 13 per cent, the power-related capability; 54 per cent, the solidarity-related capability, and 54 per cent, the character-building capability. Forty-three per cent of the respondents' definitions of development had an instrumental emphasis; 48 per cent had a value-expressive emphasis. Only 15 per cent of the respondents had a systemic view of development.

Of the data presented in Table 24, the following may be noted:

1. A wealth-related definition was (a) directly related to knowledge of developments in economics and politics, but (b) inversely related to training in education and to influence in the Church. It was not significantly related to training in business or economics, influence in the economy, or attitudes toward developments in economics and politics.

2. A power-related definition was inversely related to training in business or economics, this being the only significant relationship. It had no significant relationship with legal training, with

TABLE 24

DEFINITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Wealth-Related	Power-Related	Solidarity-Related	Character-Building	Task Oriented	Pattern Oriented	Systemic Definition	Number
Sector of Influence:								
Economy:								
Influentials	45	13	35	42	45	42	13	40
Non-influentials	51	13	49	47	42	49	15	176
Government:								
High influentials	49	13	30	57	38	38	17	47
Low influentials	41	15	56	41	35	56	15	34
Non-influentials	52	12	50 $(p < .05)$	44	46	50	14	135
Education:								
High influentials	43	11	54	39	32	54	14	28
Middle influentials	52	13	60	52	38	52	10	52
Low influentials	46	9	60	43	49	63	17	35
Non-influentials	51	14	33 $(p < .01)$	47	46	40 $(p < .10)$	17	101
Church:								
Influentials	25	4	54	54	29	46	17	24
Non-influentials	53 $(p < .02)$	14	45	45	44	48	15	192
Other:								
Influentials	62	12	35	50	53	41	26	34
Non-influentials	47	13	48	46	41	49	13 $(p < .10)$	182
Profession:								
Educator	48	10	63	48	41	59	15	102
Non-educator	51	15	32 $(p < .001)$	45	44	39 $(p < .01)$	15	114
National Origin:								
Colombian	50	13	45	48	43	49	17	181
Foreigner	49	11	49	37	40	43	3 $(p < .10)$	35
Age:								
Under 40	56	19	42	37	67	37	14	43
40's	51	13	52	43	35	53	11	75
50's	48	6	45	47	35	44	18	66
Over 60	41	16	41	66 $(p < .10)$	44 $(p < .01)$	59	19	32
Family Background:								
"Mixed"	33	4	63	41	26	67	4	27
New elite	48	17	42	54	43	46	23	65
Traditional elite	56	12	44	46	48	46	17	89
Foreigner	49	11	49	37	40	43	3 $(p < .02)$	35
Place of Residence:								
Bogotá	50	10	44	56	39	48	17	102
Outside Bogotá	49	16	48	38	48	51	18	79
Foreigner	49	11	49	37 $(p < .05)$	40	43	3 $(p < .10)$	35
Training:								
Education or behavioral science:								
No	54	13	42	46	48	46	15	149
Yes	39 $(p < .05)$	10	57 $(p < .10)$	48	30 $(p < .02)$	54	13	67
Business or economics:								
No	49	16	46	48	45	48	18	147
Yes	51	4 $(p < .05)$	46	42	38	49	9	69
Law:								
No	50	12	49	50	42	51	17	139
Yes	49	13	42	40	43	43	10	77
Medicine, engineering, natural science:								
No	48	12	45	42	41	45	12	177
Yes	56	15	54	67 $(p < .01)$	51	64 $(p < .05)$	26 $(p < .10)$	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:								
No	49	14	48	43	40	50	16	159
Yes	51	9	42	54	49	42	12	57
Knowledge:								
Developments in economy and polity:								
Less knowledgeable	31	13	59	38	44	47	6	32
Knowledgeable	52	14	34	44	40	44	12	50
More knowledgeable	53 $(p < .10)$	12	48 $(p < .10)$	49	43	50	18	134
Development in education:								
Less knowledgeable	58	12	46	23	42	42	0	26
Knowledgeable	47	10	44	46	41	42	14	59
More knowledgeable	49	14	47	51 $(p < .05)$	44	52	18 $(p < .10)$	131
Attitudes:								
Developments in economy and polity:								
Least favorable	52	17	41	37	50	41	17	54
Less favorable	45	5	52	52	45	55	15	40
More favorable	50	16	51	47	39	31	13	70
Most favorable	50	10	40	50	38	46	15	52
Developments in education:								
Least favorable	51	8	46	36	41	41	8	39
Less favorable	53	13	43	47	47	50	19	70
More favorable	48	15	39	39	45	33	6	33
Most favorable	46	14	53	54	38	57	19	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the questions: (1) "Here are some questions about national development in Colombia. First, when you discuss Colombian national development, what changes in the nation are you primarily thinking about?"; (2) "In your opinion, which new value is most worth having in Colombian society?"; and (3) "Perhaps you have already told me this in your previous comments, but do you have any 'philosophy of national development' that guided you in choosing among these programs?"

Wealth- and power-related responses were said to have an instrumental or task orientation. Solidarity- and character-related responses were said to have a value-expressive or pattern orientation. A respondent who made an instrumental or value-expressive response at least thrice was considered to have manifested an instrumental or value-expressive orientation, respectively.

A respondent was considered to have a systemic view of development if he mentioned all four societal capabilities.

influence in government, or with knowledge and attitudes regarding recent developments in politics and economics.[31]

3. A solidarity-related definition was related to (a) training in education, direct; (b) position as an educator, direct; (c) influence in government with a slightly higher percentage of low influentials giving a solidarity-related definition than did non-influentials; (d) influence in education, with 54, 60, and 60 per cent of the high, middle, and low influentials, respectively, giving this definition, as compared with 33 per cent of the non-influentials; and (e) knowledge about recent developments in economics and politics, with 59, 34, and 48 per cent of the less knowledgeable, knowledgeable, and more knowledgeable respondents, respectively, making a solidarity-related definition.

4. A definition of development emphasizing character-building was related to place of interview, with the respondents residing in Bogotá nearly one and one-half times more likely than non-Bogotá or foreign respondents to define development in this manner.

5. A task-oriented definition of development was significantly related to age, with 67 per cent of the respondents under 40 manifesting an instrumental orientation, as compared to 35 per cent for respondents in their 40's and 50's and 44 per cent for respondents in their 60's.

6. A pattern-oriented definition of development was (a) more likely among educational influentials, with the low influentials being most prone to make such a definition, (b) directly related to position as an educator, and (c) directly related to training in medicine, science or engineering.

Relationships between Program Choices and Definitions of Development

It was expected that the respondents' choices of programs to be emphasized in a program of national development would reflect their definitions of development. By and large, this expectation is confirmed (see Table 25). Taking the recommended programs singly: (1) economic

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[31] Of the relationships among the four definitions of development by societal capability emphasized, only that between wealth and power approached significance, with 67 per cent of those who emphasized political development stressing economic development as well.

TABLE 25

INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED

(Percentage Distribution by Definitions of Development)

	Economic Development	Agricultural Development	Elementary Education	Secondary Education	Number
Wealth-related:					
No	50	53	76	42	109
Yes	57	68 ($p < .05$)	70	35	107
Power-related:					
No	53	59	75	40	189
Yes	56	74	63	26	27
Solidarity-related:					
No	59	62	66	29	116
Yes	47 ($p < .10$)	59	81 ($p < .05$)	49 ($p < .01$)	100
Character-building:					
No	59	63	70	33	116
Yes	47 ($p < .10$)	58	77	45 ($p < .10$)	100
Task-oriented:					
No	51	56	77	42	124
Yes	58	67	68	34	92
Pattern-oriented:					
No	59	62	65	34	112
Yes	48	60	82 ($p < .01$)	43	104
Systemic:					
No	57	61	72	38	184
Yes	38 ($p < .10$)	59	81	44	32

	University Education	Public Works	Public Health & Nutrition	Political Reform	Number
Wealth-related:					
No	40	28	50	38	109
Yes	38	34	55	34	107
Power-related:					
No	40	31	54	31	189
Yes	37	30	44	70 ($p < .001$)	27
Solidarity-related:					
No	34	35	50	40	116
Yes	45	26	56	31	110
Character-building:					
No	39	29	47	37	116
Yes	40	33	60 ($p < .10$)	34	110
Task-oriented:					
No	38	31	55	31	124
Yes	41	30	50	42	92
Pattern-oriented:					
No	39	30	46	39	112
Yes	39	32	60 ($p < .10$)	32	104
Systemic:					
No	39	30	52	35	184
Yes	41	38	59	41	32

development tended to be selected less often by respondents who emphasized solidarity or character-building; (2) agricultural development tended to be chosen more often by those who stressed wealth; (3) elementary education tended to be advocated more often by respondents who stressed solidarity or pattern-orientation; (4) secondary education tended to be advocated by those who emphasized solidarity or character-building; (5) public health tended to be named by respondents who stressed character-building or pattern-orientation; and (6) political reform tended to be urged by those who stressed power.

The above significant relationships support the expectation that respondents would tend to name programs consistent with their definition of development.

There remains the question, however, as to whether definition of development or sector of affiliation is a more economical explanation for the respondents' program choices since, after all, definitions of development themselves tend to reflect sector of affiliation.

To this end, the patterns of choosing economic, educational, instrumental, and value-expressive programs might be of interest (see Tables 26 and 27).

1. Educational programs tended to be chosen less often by respondents whose definitions of development stressed either wealth or power. In contrast, more educational programs tended to be selected by respondents defining development in terms of enhancing solidarity.

When position or training was controlled, however, the inverse relationship of number of educational programs chosen with a power-related definition and with a wealth-related definition of development disappeared. The direct relationship between number of educational programs chosen and a solidarity-related definition of development held true among non educators ($p < .05$) and among respondents trained as educators ($p < .05$); the relationship was inverse among respondents not trained as educators ($p < .10$).

These findings would suggest the importance of position in determining how many educational programs were chosen. Only among non-educators who gave a solidarity-related definition of development, i.e., a definition overriding sectoral interests, did definition of development seem to have an effect on number of educational programs chosen.

2. More economic programs tended to be selected by respondents defining development in terms of an increase in wealth or task-orientation; they tended to be chosen less often by respondents who stressed solidarity in their definitions of development.

TABLE 26

NUMBER OF ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED

(Percentage Distribution by Definitions of Development)

	Economic Programs			Educational Programs			
	None	One	Two or Three	One or None	Two	Three	Number
Wealth-related:							
No	17	38	45	59	21	20	109
Yes	5	42	53 ($p < .02$)	66	23	10	107
Power-related:							
No	13	40	48	60	23	17	189
Yes	0	41	59	81	15	4 ($p < .10$)	27
Solidarity-related:							
No	12	30	58	72	18	9	116
Yes	10	51	39 ($p < .01$)	51	27	22 ($p < .01$)	100
Character-building:							
No	9	37	53	66	21	13	116
Yes	13	43	44	58	24	18	100
Task-oriented:							
No	16	39	45	60	21	19	124
Yes	4	41	54 ($p < .05$)	66	24	10	92
Pattern-oriented:							
No	12	35	54	68	21	12	112
Yes	11	45	44	57	24	19	104
Systemic:							
No	12	37	51	63	23	14	184
Yes	6	56	38	59	19	22	32

TABLE 27

NUMBER OF INSTRUMENTAL AND VALUE-EXPRESSIVE PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED

(Percentage Distribution by Definitions of Development)

	Instrumental Programs			Value-Expressive Programs			
	One or None	Two	Three or More	One or None	Two	Three or More	Number
Wealth-related:							
No	34	49	17	23	49	28	109
Yes	27	52	21	23	52	24	107
Power-related:							
No	34	50	16	21	50	29	189
Yes	7	56	37 ($p < .01$)	37	56	7 ($p < .05$)	27
Solidarity-related:							
No	23	50	27	34	48	18	116
Yes	39	51	10 ($p < .01$)	11	53	36 ($p < .001$)	110
Character-building:							
No	27	52	22	28	52	20	116
Yes	35	49	16	17	49	34 ($p < .05$)	100
Task-oriented:							
No	36	48	16	22	47	31	124
Yes	23	54	23 ($p < .10$)	25	55	20	92
Pattern-oriented:							
No	26	50	24	31	49	20	112
Yes	36	51	13 ($p < .10$)	14	52	34 ($p < .01$)	104
Systemic:							
No	30	49	21	26	49	26	184
Yes	31	55	9	9	59	31	32

The relationship of number of economic programs chosen with wealth-related or task-oriented definitions of development disappeared when position was controlled but remained significant among respondents trained in fields other than education ($p < .02$ and $p < .05$, respectively). Again, this suggests the greater explanatory power of sectoral interest: sectoral interest, it appears, tends to be the main determining factor for program choices, though its power of determination is qualified somewhat by the training of the respondents.

To the extent that definition of development itself tends to reflect the respondents' sectoral interests, it is not surprising that respondents who defined development in solidarity-related terms were less prone to suggest two or more economic programs. When position and training were controlled, educators and those trained as such were significantly more likely to propose one economic program ($p < .05$ and $p < .01$, respectively), while non-educators were more likely to propose one or more ($p < .10$). This suggests the influence of sectoral interest: the program choices dictated by sectoral interests tend to limit the number of non-educational programs that may be chosen, regardless of their importance for the developmental process.

3. Value-expressive programs tended to be chosen more often by respondents whose definitions of development stressed solidarity, character-building, or pattern-orientation. They were less often chosen by respondents who emphasized power in their definition of development.

The direct relationships of number of value-expressive programs chosen with the solidarity-related or pattern oriented definitions of development remained significant after training was controlled; after position was controlled, they remained significant among non-educators ($p < .01$ and $p < .10$, respectively). Educators and those trained in fields other than education who defined development in terms of character-building were more likely to suggest more value-expressive programs ($p < .05$ and $p < .02$, respectively). The inverse relationship between number of value-expressive programs and power-related definition of development disappeared when training or position was controlled.

4. In contrast, instrumental programs tended to be chosen more often by respondents whose definitions of development emphasized power- or task-orientation. They were less often selected by respondents whose definitions of development assigned high priority to solidarity or character-building.

When position was controlled, the significant relationships of number of instrumental programs chosen with a power-related, task-oriented, or character-building definition of development disappeared. When training was controlled, the relationship with a power-related definition persisted among respondents trained in fields other than education ($p < .02$). When position was controlled, it turned out that among educators, there was no relationship between number of instrumental programs chosen and a solidarity-related definition of development; among non-educators, however, the relationship was an inverse one ($p < .01$).

By and large, these findings suggest that position alone is a sufficient explanation for the direct relationships between number of educational, economic, value-expressive, or instrumental programs proposed and definition of development -- as far as educators are concerned: with respect to non-educators, the direct relationships of a solidarity-related definition of development with number of educational or value-expressive programs proposed continued to hold after position was controlled.

When training was controlled, there was a great tendency for the relationship between number of programs proposed and definitions of development to disappear with respect to respondents trained in fields other than education; with respect to respondents trained in education, the relationships tended to persist.

Summary

By and large, respondents' choices of programs to be emphasized in a program of national development tended to be consistent with their definitions of development in terms of the societal capability to be emphasized. It was not clear, however, whether definition of development or the respondents' positions were a sufficient explanation for the pattern of program choices. The number of educational, economic, value-expressive, and instrumental programs chosen were further analyzed and it appeared that at least, with respect to educators, position was a sufficient explanation for many of their program choices. This was not true of non-educators who defined development in solidarity-related terms. This would seem to indicate that when a respondent defines development in terms that do not reflect his sectoral interests, this definition has an effect on his program choices.

The relationships between program choices and definitions of development tended to disappear among respondents trained in fields other than education but tended to persist among those trained as educators. This would seem to indicate that people trained as educators had a greater tendency to be guided in their choice of programs by their definitions of development.

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS: FIT OR LACK OF FIT?

Overview

What has been demonstrated so far is the respondent's ability -- or inability -- to be consistent in discussing the educational system on the one hand and the social system on the other.

The question now to be answered is whether they were able to integrate the educational system into the process of national development. Put in other terms, the idea of education playing a role in national development presupposes the ability of policy-makers to recognize the use to which education may be placed in the modernization process.

Two issues may be raised in this connection: First, do the respondents' definitions of development have some bearing on (1) their attitudes toward education; (2) the standards they use in evaluating education; (3) the problems they perceive in the educational system; and (4) the policies they suggest for meeting these problems?

Second, do these perceptions and evaluations of the educational system have some bearing on their choice of programs to be emphasized in a program of national development?

Another way of getting some indication of the extent to which the respondents have succeeded in integrating the educational system into the process of national development is to note their responses as to which sectors they feel should be included in educational planning.

Relationship between Definitions of Development and Opinions about Education

The following points regarding the relationships among the respondents' definitions of development and their attitudes and perceptions concerning the educational system may be noted:

1. Attitude toward education. There were no significant relationships between attitude toward education and any of the seven ways in which development may be defined.

This would indicate that attitude toward the educational system as being a force for change, as progressing as fast as the society, and as being an asset to society, was not significantly related to the respondents' ideas about modernization. This would seem to suggest that their evaluations of education are only peripherally related to its performance in the developmental process.

2. Comments on elementary and secondary education. There were no significant relationships between the respondents' comments on elementary and secondary education -- whether these comments were treated separately or consolidated -- and any of the seven ways in which development may be defined.

This would imply that elementary and secondary education do not enter into the respondents' conceptions of the modernization process. Apparently, whatever the respondents feel about the modernization process has little implication for the elementary and secondary schools.

This apparent neglect of the possible role the elementary and secondary schools could play in the developmental process would seem to be one of the major lacunae in the respondents' grasp of the implications of modernization, not only of the impact the elementary and secondary schools would have on the process of social mobilization but also of the dislocations associated with a great number of school dropouts who are not well-educated enough to be politically and economically participant.

3. Comments on university education: evaluative norms. The following relationships were significant:

a. With respect to the roles for which education should prepare people, respondents whose definitions of development emphasized wealth or power were more likely to suggest economic roles (see Table 28).

This relationship between the suggestion of economic roles and a wealth-related definition of development proved to be true only among educators ($p < .05$) and those trained as such ($p < .01$). Non-educators who conceived of development in economic terms were not able to see a possible role for the educational system in this regard. The relationship between a suggestion of economic roles and a power-related definition of development was true only among non-educators ($p < .02$) and respondents trained in fields other than education ($p < .02$). It would appear that non-educators who defined development in political terms were not only aware of the need for a certain amount of economic

TABLE 28

ROLES FOR WHICH EDUCATION SHOULD PREPARE PEOPLE

(Percentage Distribution by Definitions of Development)

	Leadership	Economic	Teaching	Number
Wealth-related:				
No	19	40	13	109
Yes	17	54 ($p < .10$)	15	107
Power-related:				
No	16	44	12	189
Yes	30	67 ($p < .10$)	26	27
Solidarity-related:				
No	18	48	12	116
Yes	18	46	16	100
Character-building:				
No	16	47	11	116
Yes	21	47	17	100
Task-oriented:				
No	16	47	14	124
Yes	21	48	14	92
Pattern-oriented:				
No	18	47	10	112
Yes	18	47	18	104
Systemic:				
No	15	16	13	184
Yes	13	14	27	32

development -- perhaps to undergird this political development -- but were also able to see that the educational system might assist the developmental process by preparing people for economic roles. Unfortunately, this perception did not seem to be shared by the educators.

b. With respect to the orientations the educational system is to inculcate in people, Table 29 indicates that: (1) respondents whose definitions stressed character-building or task-orientation were more likely to propose the inculcation of social concern; (2) respondents whose definitions emphasized character-building or pattern-orientation were likely to suggest the inculcation of task-orientation; and (3) respondents whose definitions assigned priority to solidarity or character-building were more likely to propose the inclucation of pattern-orientation.

The rather surprising relationship between the recommendation that the educational system inculcate task-orientation and a pattern-oriented view of development turned out to be spurious: when position as an educator or non-educator and training as an educator or otherwise were controlled, the relationship disappeared. The relationship between a definition of development emphasizing character-building and the proposal that the educational system inclucate task-orientation was true only among educators ($p < .10$).

Further, the relationship between the proposal that the educational system inculcate pattern-orientation and a solidarity-related definition of development did not hold among educators. However, non-educators who defined development in solidarity-related terms were less likely to propose the inculcation of pattern-orientation ($p < .10$).

c. With respect to the functions the educational system was perceived as serving, respondents whose definitions stressed wealth or character-building were more likely to perceive the educational process as an informative one (see Table 30).

The definition of the educational process as primarily an informative one proved to be related to a wealth-related conception of development only among non-educators ($p < .05$) and those respondents trained as educators ($p < .01$). The informative definition of the educational process was related to a character-building definition of development only among respondents trained as educators.

It would appear that the non-educators -- and the respondents trained as educators -- realized that economic development would require information beyond what they perceive the educational system is presently transmitting. Moreover, it was only the respondents trained as educators who apparently perceived that character-building, i.e., the ability and willingness of the individual to perform his roles adequately, also required more information than what seemed to be transmitted by the

TABLE 29

ORIENTATIONS EDUCATION SHOULD INCULCATE

(Percentage Distribution by Definition of Development)

	Social Concern	Task Orientation	Pattern Orientation	General	Number
Wealth-related:					
No	60	54	47	65	109
Yes	70	52	52	58	107
Power-related:					
No	65	55	51	63	189
Yes	67	41	37	48	27
Solidarity-related:					
No	61	53	55	59	116
Yes	69	54	43 (p < .10)	64	110
Character-building:					
No	59	47	43	62	116
Yes	72 (p < .10)	60 (p < .10)	57 (p < .10)	61	110
Task-oriented:					
No	58	52	48	62	124
Yes	74 (p < .05)	55	51	61	92
Pattern-oriented:					
No	60	47	54	60	112
Yes	70	60 (p < .10)	45	63	104
Systemic:					
No	63	52	48	61	184
Yes	75	63	56	63	32

TABLE 30

FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Definitions of Development)

	Informative	Formative	Number
Wealth-related:			
No	15	49	109
Yes	28 ($p < .05$)	48	107
Power-related:			
No	22	48	189
Yes	19	48	27
Solidarity-related:			
No	22	49	116
Yes	21	47	100
Character-building:			
No	16	47	116
Yes	27 ($p < .10$)	49	100
Task-oriented:			
No	19	48	124
Yes	25	48	92
Pattern-oriented:			
No	19	47	112
Yes	24	49	104
Systemic:			
No	21	49	184
Yes	22	44	32

present system. This would appear to be a difference among educators -- traceable to whether they were trained as such or not.

4. Comments on university education: definition of the problem. There were no significant relationships between the respondents' definition of university problems as personnel-related or system-related and any of the seven ways in which development may be defined (see Table 31), but among respondents trained as educators, those who defined development in solidarity-related terms were more likely to define the problems of the university system in impersonal terms.

5. Comments on university education: proposed solutions. The following relationships were significant (see Table 31).

a. Respondents whose definitions of development stressed solidarity or pattern-orientation were more likely to propose an expansion of university programs. This relationship, however, disappeared when position and training were controlled.

b. Respondents whose definitions emphasized wealth or task-orientation were more likely to propose administrative solutions.

When position and training were controlled, however, it appeared that only those trained as educators, if they defined development in wealth-related terms, were more ready to propose administrative and academic solutions ($p < .05$). This tendency on the part of such respondents may stem from their ability to define educational problems in system- rather than personnel-related terms. On the other hand, non-educators and those respondents trained in fields other than education who defined development in task-oriented terms were more likely to propose administrative and academic solutions ($p < .05$ and $p < .10$, respectively).

Relationships between Programs Chosen and Opinions about Education

It would be expected that the respondents' evaluations and perceptions relative to the educational system would have some relationship with their choice of programs to be emphasized in a program of national development. This would be particularly true of educational programs, the choice of which would be dependent to a certain degree on the respondents' definition of development, their view of the role education should play in enhancing this key capability or orientation, their evaluation of the educational system's performance in this respect, and, if this evaluation is unfavorable, their views as to how the performance of the educational system might be improved.

TABLE 31

COMMENTS ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Definitions of Development)

	Personnel-Related	System Related	Expansion of Programs	Administrative Reforms	Number
Wealth-related:					
No	50	20	37	15	109
Yes	48	29	35	28 ($p < .05$)	107
Power-related:					
No	49	23	36	20	189
Yes	48	37	33	30	27
Solidarity-related:					
No	45	23	30	21	116
Yes	53	26	42 ($p < .10$)	22	100
Character-building:					
No	45	20	36	20	116
Yes	53	30	35	23	100
Task-oriented:					
No	52	20	40	16	124
Yes	43	30	29	28 ($p < .05$)	92
Pattern-oriented:					
No	45	20	29	21	112
Yes	53	30	42 ($p < .10$)	22	104
Systemic:					
No	49	22	36	20	184
Yes	44	38	34	28	32

This reasoning, of course, presupposes the rational-man model of the Colombian influential. The spokesman-guardian model, however, would suggest that these perceptions and evaluations are conditioned by the respondents' position in the first place and that the best predictor of programs chosen would be the respondents' positions.

Tables 32, 33, and 34 are cross-tabulations of the programs recommended -- singly and in combination -- by respondents' comments on the educational system. The salient points follow:

1. The suggestion of more educational programs was more likely among respondents who felt the educational system should (a) prepare people for teaching roles, (b) inculcate pattern-orientation, and (c) be improved through an expansion of programs. However, the relationship between number of educational programs proposed and the suggestion that the educational system should prepare people for teaching roles disappeared when position and training were controlled.

A belief in the conservative function of education among the educators themselves is suggested by the finding that educators who felt that education should inculcate pattern-orientation were more likely to propose two or more programs ($p < .10$). This relationship also held true among respondents trained in fields other than education ($p < .02$).

The recommendation of educational programs and the suggestion of an expansion of university operations are conceptually closely related and, not surprisingly, this relationship held true among educators, non-educators, and respondents trained as educators. It was not significant, however, among respondents who had not been trained in education.

2. The suggestion of economic programs was more likely among respondents who felt that the educational system should inculcate task-orientation.

However, this relationship disappeared when position and training were controlled. Again, it is disconcerting to note that the respondents seemed unable to perceive that more economic programs would open new positions and roles that would have to be filled by people with the appropriate orientations; or, if they did, they did not see the educational system as being able to inculcate the appropriate orientations. This suggestion is supported by the lack of any relationship between the proposal of economic programs and the suggestion that the educational system should prepare people for economic roles. This relationship was true of both educators and non-educators -- and even of the economic influentials!

If the suggestion made earlier that the educators tended to view the function of education as primarily conservative is accepted, it might be added here that non-educators perhaps saw the educational system in

TABLE 32

NUMBER OF ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for Which Education Should Prepare People, Orientations Education Should Inculcate, Functions of Education, and Comments on University Education)

	Economic			Educational			
	None	One	Two or More	One or None	Two	Three	Number
Roles for which education should prepare people							
Leadership:							
No	11	42	47	60	24	16	177
Yes	10	31	59	74	15	10	39
Economic:							
No	14	37	49	65	18	18	114
Yes	8	43	49	60	27	13	102
Teaching:							
No	10	39	51	65	22	13	186
Yes	20	43	37	47	27	27 ($p < .10$)	30
Orientations education should inculcate							
Social Concern:							
No	11	39	50	59	28	13	76
Yes	11	40	49	64	19	16	140
Task-Orientation:							
No	7	48	46	68	20	12	101
Yes	15	33	52 ($p < .05$)	57	24	18	115
Pattern-Orientation:							
No	8	45	47	72	17	12	109
Yes	14	35	51	53	28	19 ($p < .05$)	107
General:							
No	10	48	42	64	24	12	83
Yes	12	35	53	62	21	17	133
Functions of Education							
Formative:							
No	9	41	50	68	21	11	112
Yes	13	38	48	57	23	20	104
Informative:							
No	10	42	48	63	23	14	170
Yes	15	33	52	61	20	20	46
University Education -- Problem Defined							
Personnel-related:							
No	11	41	49	66	23	12	111
Yes	11	39	50	59	22	19	105
System-related:							
No	10	43	47	61	23	15	163
Yes	13	30	57	66	19	15	53
University Education -- Proposed Solutions							
Expansion of Programs:							
No	10	36	54	72	17	12	139
Yes	13	47	40	45	32	22 ($p < .001$)	77
Administrative Solutions:							
No	11	41	48	61	24	15	170
Yes	13	35	52	67	15	17	46

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF INSTRUMENTAL AND VALUE-EXPRESSIVE PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for which Education Should Prepare People, Orientations Education Should Inculcate, Functions of Education, and Comments on University Education)

	Instrumental			Value-Expressive			
	One or None	Two	Three or More	One or None	Two	Three or More	Number
Roles for which education should prepare people							
Leadership:							
No	33	50	17	20	51	29	177
Yes	21	51	28	36	49	15 (p < .10)	39
Economic:							
No	34	46	19	25	46	28	114
Yes	26	55	19	21	55	25	102
Teaching:							
No	30	51	19	24	51	25	186
Yes	33	50	17	17	50	33	30
Orientations education should inculcate							
Social Concern:							
No	29	47	24	30	46	24	76
Yes	31	52	16	19	53	28	140
Task-orientation:							
No	32	51	17	23	52	25	101
Yes	30	50	21	23	49	28	115
Pattern-orientation:							
No	28	51	21	24	52	24	109
Yes	34	50	17	22	49	29	107
General:							
No	34	47	19	24	47	29	83
Yes	29	53	19	23	53	25	133
Function of education							
Formative							
No	23	55	21	25	55	20	112
Yes	38	45	16	21	45	34 (p < .10)	104
Informative:							
No	32	51	18	23	51	26	170
Yes	26	50	24 (p < .10)	24	50	26	46
University Education -- problem defined							
Personnel-related:							
No	28	55	17	23	54	23	111
Yes	33	46	21	24	47	30	105
System-related:							
No	31	50	19	23	50	27	163
Yes	30	51	19	25	51	25	53
University Education -- proposed solutions							
Expansion of programs:							
No	24	55	22	25	55	19	139
Yes	43	43	14 (p < .02)	19	42	39 (p < .01)	77
Administrative solutions:							
No	31	50	19	24	49	26	170
Yes	30	52	17	20	54	26	46

TABLE 34

INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS RECOMMENDED

(Percentage Distribution by Roles for which Education Should Prepare People, Orientations Education Should Inculcate, Functions of Education, and Comment on University Education)

	Economic	Agricultural	Elementary Education	Secondary Education	University Education	Public Works	Public Health	Political Reform	Number
Roles for which Education Should Prepare People:									
Leadership:									
No	54	59	76	39	40	30	56	33	177
Yes	54	67	62	36	38	36	38 ($p < .10$)	46	39
Economic:									
No	50	61	67	40	43	30	53	33	114
Yes	58	60	80 ($p < .05$)	36	35	32	53	38	102
Teaching:									
No	55	63	74	35	37	31	55	33	186
Yes	47	43 ($p < .10$)	70	60 ($p < .02$)	57 ($p < .10$)	33	40	50	30
Orientations Education Should Inculcate:									
Social Concern:									
No	57	55	71	34	38	39	43	38	76
Yes	52	64	74	41	40	26 ($p < .10$)	58 ($p < .10$)	34	140
Task-Orientation:									
No	53	64	74	33	32	28	58	36	101
Yes	54	57	72	43	46 ($p < .05$)	34	48	36	115
Pattern-Orientation:									
No	53	65	71	32	37	28	61	42	109
Yes	54	56	76	45 ($p < .10$)	42	34	45 ($p < .05$)	29 ($p < .10$)	107
General:									
No	53	55	76	39	28	31	60	41	83
Yes	54	64	71	38	47 ($p < .01$)	31	48	32	133
Function of Education:									
Formative:									
No	56	57	70	34	35	36	53	45	112
Yes	51	64	77	43	44	26	53	26 ($p < .01$)	104
Informative:									
No	51	64	74	37	38	32	54	33	170
Yes	65	50	72	43	46	28	48	46	46
University Education -- Problem Defined:									
Personnel-Related:									
No	52	62	73	32	37	32	57	35	111
Yes	55	59	73	45 ($p < .10$)	42	30	49	36	105
System-Related:									
No	52	61	74	39	37	31	54	37	163
Yes	58	60	70	36	45	30	49	32	53
University Education -- Proposed Solutions:									
Expansion of Programs:									
No	55	63	71	32	35	35	55	40	139
Yes	51	57	77	51 ($p < .01$)	47	25	49	29	77
Administrative Solutions:									
No	53	62	76	36	35	31	54	36	170
Yes	57	57	61 ($p < .10$)	46	54 ($p < .05$)	30	50	35	46

the same light and would thus be rather hesitant to consider the educational system as an appropriate vehicle for preparing people for "modern" roles and inculcating in them "modern" orientations.

3. The proposal of more value-expressive programs was (a) less likely among advocates of leadership roles; (b) more likely among those who viewed the educational process as an informative one; and (c) more likely among proponents of an expansion of university programs.

The suggestion of a certain amount of distrust toward the educational system with respect to preparing people for modern roles is strengthened by the inverse relationship between number of value-expressive programs chosen and the proposal that education should prepare people for leadership roles. When position and training were controlled, this relationship remained significant among non-educators ($p < .05$) while the significant relationship between number of value-expressive programs proposed and the advocacy of an expansion of university programs disappeared.

4. The choice of more instrumental programs was less likely among those who (a) saw the educational process as an informative one; or (b) advocated the expansion of university programs.

Non-educators and respondents trained in education who defined development in wealth-related terms were more likely to express the belief that education was a formative process ($p < .05$ and $p < .01$, respectively). However, it appears that the respondents were unable to see that modernization also calls for motivation, i.e., formation, or that the respondents did not feel that the type of formation provided by the educational system was appropriate. Either suggestion is supported by the lack of a relationship between the number of instrumental programs proposed and the advocacy of a formative function for education: educators who proposed more instrumental programs were less likely to advocate a formative function for education ($p < .05$).

When position was controlled, the relationship between number of instrumental programs suggested and the proposal of expanded university programs disappeared. On the other hand, educators who proposed more instrumental programs were more likely to believe that education should prepare people for leadership roles ($p < .10$).

5. Economic development was not significantly related to any comment on the educational system.

6. The proposal of agricultural development was less likely among those who (a) in commenting on elementary and secondary education, cited standards; and (b) thought that the educational system should prepare people for teaching roles.

7. The suggestion of elementary education was (a) more frequent among proponents of economic roles; and (b) less frequent among advocates of administrative reforms.

8. The proposal of secondary education was more frequent among advocates of (a) teaching roles, (b) pattern-orientation, (c) a personnel-related definition of educational problems, and (d) an expansion of university programs.

9. The advocacy of university education tended to be more frequent among proponents of (a) teaching roles, (b) task-orientation, (c) the "general" orientation, and (d) administrative solutions to educational proglems.

10. The proposal of public works was less frequent among those who felt that the educational system should inculcate social concern.

11. The suggestion of public health and nutrition was less frequent among proponents of leadership roles or pattern-orientation, but was more frequent among advocates of social concern.

12. The suggestion of political reform was less likely among those who felt that the educational system should inculcate pattern-orientation or who saw the educational process as a formative one; it was more likely among respondents who cited standards, least frequent among those who cited programs.

Opinions about Who Should Be Involved in Educational Planning

The respondents' opinions as to which institutions should be involved in educational planning are important in the sense that they indicate the respondents' beliefs as to which sector of society the educational system should be responsive to and/or from which sector of society the educational system might profit (see Table 35.).

1. Businessmen, economists, scientists, and/or subject-matter specialists were proposed by 31 per cent of the respondents with the following groups being more likely to do so: (a) educational influentials, (b) educators, (c) people more knowledgeable about recent educational developments, (d) people who gave a wealth-related definition of development, and (e) people whose definitions of development manifested a task-orientation.

This proposal was also significantly related to attitude toward education: respondents making this suggestion were less likely to express a qualified attitude toward education. As this is an issue related

TABLE 35

SECTORS TO BE CONSULTED IN EDUCATIONAL PLANNING[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, Attitude, and Definitions of Development)

	Economic and Scientific Sector[b]	Value-Expressive Sector[c]	Educational Institutions[d]			Number
			None	One	Two or More	
Sector of Influence:						
Economy:						
Influentials	23	13	42	55	2	40
Non-influentials	33	27 (p < .10)	33	51	16 (p < .10)	176
Government:						
High influentials	21	17	38	51	11	47
Low influentials	29	32	35	56	9	34
Non-influentials	36	24	33	50	16	135
Education:						
High influentials	32	14	29	39	32	28
Middle influentials	33	27	27	52	21	52
Low influentials	49	37	26	57	17	35
Non-influentials	25 (p < .10)	21	44	52	4 (p <.01)	101
Church:						
Influentials	29	38	21	58	21	24
Non-influentials	32	22	36	51	13	192
Other:						
Influentials	32	26	32	53	15	34
Non-influentials	31	24	35	51	14	182
Profession:						
Educator	38	28	28	50	22	102
Non-educator	25 (p < .10)	20	40	53	7 (p < .01)	114
National Origin:						
Colombian	31	25	37	51	12	181
Foreigner	31	20	23	54	23	35
Age:						
Under 40	35	26	33	60	7	43
40's	29	23	36	45	19	75
50's	29	26	33	53	14	66
Over 60	38	22	38	50	13	32
Family Background:						
"Mixed"	44	26	33	56	11	27
New elite	35	28	37	48	15	65
Traditional elite	25	22	38	52	10	89
Foreigner	31	20	23	54	23	35
Place of Residence:						
Bogotá	27	23	32	51	17	102
Outside Bogotá	37	28	43	51	6	79
Foreigner	31	20	23	54	23 (p < .10)	35
Training:						
Education or behavioral science:						
No	30	21	36	53	11	149
Yes	34	31	31	48	21	67
Business or economics:						
No	32	23	35	53	12	147
Yes	30	26	33	48	19	69
Law:						
No	30	24	32	53	15	139
Yes	34	23	39	49	12	77
Medicine, engineering, natural science:						
No	31	25	34	54	12	177
Yes	36	21	36	41	23	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:						
No	32	22	36	50	14	159
Yes	30	30	32	54	14	57
Knowledge:						
Developments in economy & polity:						
Less knowledgeable	28	31	22	56	22	32
Knowledgeable	22	14	40	54	6	50
More knowledgeable	36	26	36	49	15	134
Developments in education:						
Less knowledgeable	23	12	35	62	4	26
Knowledgeable	22	29	32	56	12	59
More knowledgeable	37 (p < .10)	24	36	47	17	131
Attitudes:						
Developments in economy & polity:						
Least favorable	22	20	43	52	6	54
Less favorable	30	17	25	55	20	40
More favorable	39	26	33	50	17	70
Most favorable	33	31	37	50	13	52
Developments in education:						
Least favorable	23	31	41	49	10	39
Less favorable	30	16	34	57	9	70
More favorable	33	27	33	48	18	33
Most favorable	36	27	32	49	19	74
Wealth-related:						
No	22	25	35	50	15	109
Yes	41 (p < .01)	23	35	52	13	107
Power-related:						
No	30	25	33	52	15	189
Yes	41	19	44	48	7	27
Solidarity-related:						
No	29	28	35	53	11	116
Yes	34	20	34	49	17	100
Character-building:						
No	34	22	32	56	12	116
Yes	29	27	38	46	16	100
Task-oriented:						
No	25	26	32	52	15	124
Yes	40 (p < .05)	22	38	50	12	92
Pattern-oriented:						
No	29	25	37	52	12	112
Yes	34	23	33	51	16	104
Systemic:						
No	32	24	34	53	13	184
Yes	31	25	38	41	22	32

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[a] Responses to the question, "Educational goals and strategies are now being specified by the government. What persons or what groups of people do you think should participate in educational planning in Colombia?"

[b] Includes businessmen, economists, scientists, and subject matter specialists.

[c] Includes parents and the Roman Catholic Church.

[d] Includes universities, educational administrators, faculties of education, and the private sector of education.

to primary and secondary education, it might be expected that there would be some relationships between this proposal and the respondents' comments on primary and secondary education. There was a relationship -- but only among respondents trained as educators. Respondents trained as educators who cited standards were more likely to propose the inclusion of representatives from the economic and scientific sectors in the educational planning process.

These findings would seem to indicate that educators as well as representatives of the economic sector were agreed on the appropriateness, even the necessity, of businessmen, economists, scientists and/or subject matter specialists' participation in the prcoess of educational planning. This seemed particularly true among those respondents who conceived of development primarily in economic or task-oriented terms.

2. Twenty-four per cent of the respondents suggested that family heads and/or the Roman Catholic Church should participate in the process of educational planning. With the exception of the economic sector, there was no significant relationship between this proposal and any of the position, personal, knowledge, or attitude variables.

This would imply that if the population were split in any way other than between economic influentials and non-influentials, there would be about one-fourth in each group who would suggest the participation of family heads and/or the Roman Catholic Church.

Economic influentials were less likely to propose the participation of family heads and/or the Church. This omission may suggest that to the economic influentials, the participation of family heads or the Church would make little difference in the process of educational planning.

3. As might have been expected, educational entities were named quite often: faculties of education, 44 per cent; universities, 13 per cent; educational administrators, 12 per cent; and the private sector of education, 11 per cent.[32] Over half of the respondents suggested the participation of one educational institution in the process of educational planning, 14 per cent naming two or more, and 35 per cent naming none. Educators, as might have been expected, were more prone to suggest two or more educational institutions. On the other hand, economic influentials were one-eighth as likely to name two or more educational institutions.

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[32] These percentages are high, particularly when they are compared to the percentages for parents and the Catholic Church that are generally recognized to have some say in the field of education. Sixteen per cent mentioned the Church and 14 per cent mentioned parents.

The tendency of the economic influentials to minimize the number of educational institutions that should participate in educational planning -- coupled with their omission of the Church and family heads (who are, in a Catholic country like Colombia, generally recognized as having some say in the area of education) -- would lend support to the suggestion that the eagerness of the economic influentials to participate in educational planning springs less from a willingness to share their expertise as from a desire to fashion the educational system according to their own priorities.

Nonetheless, it must be pointed out that respondents who suggested that the economic and scientific sectors be represented in the educational planning process were also likely to suggest the representation of the Church and family heads. This was true among both educators and non-educators. There was no such relationship, however, among respondents trained as educators.

Summary

The evidence suggests that by and large, the Colombian influentials were not able to integrate the educational system into the process of national development.

It appeared that (1) their attitude toward education had little to do with their definitions of development; (2) they saw only a peripheral role for elementary and secondary education in development; (3) their specifications of the roles they expected education to prepare people for or the orientations they expected education to inculcate had more to do with their positions rather than with their definitions of development; (4) their definition of problems at the university level had little to do with their definitions of development; and (5) their proposed solutions seemed to be more related to their positions rather than to definitions of development.

Moreover, it might have been expected when the respondents suggested the programs they felt should be emphasized in a national development program, they would have taken into account the fact that such an emphasis would create new positions which would have to be filled by people who could play the roles associated with these positions, i.e., people with the appropriate orientations. Apparently, this did not take place: their responses with respect to the type of roles they expected education to prepare people for or the orientations they expected education to inculcate did not seem to be related to whether they emphasized one type of program or another. While there seemed to be some agreement that "modern" roles called for more information than the university is at present transmitting to its students, there seemed to be a lack of appreciation of the fact that the performance of "modern" roles also calls for the inculcation of "modern" motivations.

This evidence also strengthens the previous suggestion that the Colombian influentials showed only an incomplete grasp of the educational process and of the modernization process.

It also supports the notion that the Colombian influentials' ideas with respect to education and development tended to be conditioned upon their position in society -- and perhaps their sectoral interests -- more than on anything else.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, AND THE FOREIGN AGENCIES: THEIR ROLES IN DEVELOPMENT

Overview

It is possible, of course, to argue that the educational system is not the best sector of society to use to suggest that the sectors of Colombian society are poorly articulated with one another, particularly so with respect to an issue such as national development. For one thing, the primary implication of national development is economic; for another, the notion of education playing a key role in national development is a very new idea.

The suggestion that the sectors of Colombian society are not too well articulated with one another and the statement that the Colombian influential, *quo* sectoral spokesmen-guardian, is not too good at making the most out of available resources stand on a rather shaky basis unless it can be demonstrated that the influentials' responses with respect to other sectors of society -- particularly sectors more readily identified with national development -- are just as inconsistent as their comments regarding education.

To this end, the Colombian influentials' opinions as to the proper roles of foreign agencies, the central government, and the Catholic Church should play in the modernization process were considered. It is interesting to note that these three institutions represent differing degrees of integration within Colombian society and serve different functions.

The Church, of course, has been in Colombia the longest and, in fact, is so much a part of the culture that 28 per cent of the respondents felt that it was that aspect of culture most worth preserving in this period of change. It was named 72 times, receiving two votes more than the family. And while the Church's functions have primarily been value-expressive, it does have a certain amount of economic power and political influence, as well as a considerable amount of interest in education and social welfare.

The central government has come a long way toward regaining the people's allegiance, which has been eroded to not an insignificant degree by the government's lack of responsiveness to the people's problems during the height of partisan conflict and its inability to put a quick end to the period of la violencia. The present government of the National Front was constituted on the promise that it would work for political, social, and economic reforms.

The foreign agencies are new institutions, some of them looked upon with suspicion as a North American fifth column and the assistance that they offer is accepted but not without a certain degree of ambivalence. Unlike the Church or the government, the foreign agencies (with the possible exception of the Peace Corps) have little direct contact with most people. It is partly for this reason that the purposes, priorities, and projects of these foreign agencies (not to mention the fact that there are enough of them for one to be confused with another) are not too well known or understood.

It was expected that the respondents' opinions as to which sector of society each one of these agencies is to concentrate its efforts in will be related to the respondents' respective positions. This is not to say, however, that an economic influential, for instance, will necessarily assign an economic role to the government, the Church, or the foreign agencies.

Equally important is the direction of the relationship between the respondents' sectors and the sector of activity they assign to these institutions.

If the model of the Colombian influential as a guardian of sectoral interests is tenable, it would be expected that this relationship would be a direct one if the institution's activity in the respondent's own sector would redound to the benefit of the respondent and/or his sector and vice versa. The economic influential, thus, would advocate a major economic role for the government if this seemed to benefit him or the economic sector. If governmental activity in the economy, on the other hand, is considered to be competitive with the respondent's own interests, he is apt to exclude government from it or assign it only a minor role.

The pattern of the respondents' opinions in this regard is interesting for a second reason: it gives some indication of the respondents' abilities to consider institutions of differing acceptance within the society and with different primary functions and to think in terms of what contributions each of them may make to the process of national development.

These institutions constitute part of the given's of the Colombian situation, part of the resources available to the society and to the extent that modernization depends upon the abilities of the society's leadership to fuse the old and the new, to harness older and newer institutions together and emphasize new functions for the task of modernization, the pattern of the influentials' responses to these questions will give some indication as to the extent to which they do, in fact, practice strategy of "getting the most" out of available resources.

The Problem of the Unspecific Answer

Fifteen per cent of the respondents assigned an economic role to the foreign agencies; 23 per cent, an educational role; and 67 per cent did not disagree with the notion that the foreign agencies had some role, but did not specify it, i.e., their response was uncodable.

Thirty per cent of the respondents assigned an economic role to the government -- 17 per cent a major one and 13 per cent a minor one; 14 per cent, a political role; 15 per cent, an educational role; nine per cent, a welfare role; and 48 per cent did not specify the role but mentioned the appropriate level of governmental activity: 25 per cent assigned a major role, 23 per cent, a minor one.

Twelve per cent assigned an economic role to the Catholic Church, while 46 per cent believed that it should work in the field of education and culture, 32 per cent assigning to it a major role and 13 per cent a minor one. Eleven per cent mentioned a welfare role, while 14 per cent made an unspecific answer.

It seems clear that one of the difficulties of this portion of the analysis will be explanation of the unspecific answers which are rather high for government and the foreign agencies. In this connection, the following suggestions are presented.

An unspecific answer may be treated simply as a sign that the respondent felt that the institution had -- or could have -- some role in the modernization process but did not know which particular role it should have. This would seem to be the best interpretation for the unspecific responses to the foreign agencies.

An unspecific response might also be interpreted as the respondent's assumption that the sectors in which the institution was active were so well known that it was not necessary to specify. This would seem to be the most appropriate interpretation for the unspecific response with respect to government. In either case, these would be a significant negative relationship between the non-specific and the specific responses. Tables 36 and 37 show how the role assignments of the central government and foreign agencies are related to one another.

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TABLE 36

ROLE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Role of the Central Government)

	Political	Educational	Welfare	Diffuse[b]			Number
				Not Applicable	Low Involvement	High Involvement[c]	
Economics:							
Not applicable	14	14	9	30	34	36	151
Low involvement	14	21	0	93	0	7	29
High involvement	14	14	17	36	34	30 ($p < .001$)	36
Political:							
No		16	10	46	28	25	186
Yes		10	3	87	7	7 ($p < .001$)	30
Educational:							
No			8	47	28	25	184
Yes			3	78	13	9 ($p < .01$)	32
Welfare:							
No				48	27	24	197
Yes				89	5	5	19

---

[a] This table shows the responses to the question, "What about the Colombian central government itself: what do you think should be the proper role of the central government in national development?"

[b] This category includes all responses that could not be fit into economic, political, educational, or welfare categories. It will be noted that a number of respondents, while unable to specify in which areas the government should play a role, were able to specify level of involvement.

[c] "High involvement" refers to the specification that the central government should lead, i.e., make decisions or provide support, i.e., allocate a major portion of the necessary goods and services. "Low involvement" refers to the specification that the central government encourage or assist efforts being undertaken in the area.

TABLE 37

ROLE OF THE FOREIGN AGENCIES[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Role of the Foreign Agencies)

	Educational	Diffuse	Number
Economic:			
No	22	77	184
Yes	31	6 ($p < .001$)	32
Educational:			
No		83	166
Yes		12 ($p < .001$)	50

---

[a] Responses to the question, "People talk about the influence of certain external powers and forces on Colombian national development. For example, there are agencies such as the UNESCO and the Ford Foundation, and there are foreign governments, especially the United States government. In your opinion, what should be the proper role of these influences in Colombian national development?"

Sectors of Activity Assigned the Central Government

Table 38 shows that with respect to the assignment of an economic role to the central government: (1) economic influentials were more likely to do so than non-influentials, with more of the former suggesting a minor role and more of the latter proposing a major one; (2) educators were less likely to propose an economic role; (3) respondents trained in education or the behavioral sciences were less likely to favor an economic role, but of those that did, two-thirds suggested a major role; (4) respondents more knowledgeable about developments in economics and politics were more likely to propose a major economic role; and (5) respondents more favorable toward developments in education were most likely to assign an economic role, with two-thirds of these favoring a minor one; the other groups were about equally likely to name economic roles with the least favorable group preferring a minor role, the other two groups, a major one.

Table 38 also shows that respondents who made a solidarity-related definition of development were less likely to favor an economic role. On the other hand, respondents who gave a wealth-related definition or a task-oriented one were less likely to propose an educational role.

It appears that only the economic influentials showed some semblance of viewing the government as a resource: they were more likely to propose an economic role for government. On the other hand, they were divided as to how large the governmental role should be. This division, it is suggested, could stem from the concern that a greater governmental role may mean a less important role for the economic influentials.

There were no significant differences among the respondents in assigning to the government political, educational, or welfare roles except the greater tendency of non-Bogota respondents and respondents knowledgeable about developments in education to look with disfavor upon increased political activity.

Further, the tendency of respondents who gave wealth-related and task-oriented definitions of development to omit mention of an educational role for the government would seem to indicate either a belief that a peso spent on education is a peso lost to the economy or the inability to see any relationship between development and education. On the other hand, educators, those trained as educators, and those who made a solidarity-related definition of development were less likely to propose an economic role for the government.

TABLE 38

ROLE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, Attitude, and Definitions of Development)

	Economic						Diffuse			
	Not Applicable	Low Involvement	High Involvement	Political	Educational	Welfare	Not Applicable	Low Involvement	High Involvement	Number
Sector of Influence:										
Economy:										
Influentials	55	25	20	15	15	15	60	15	25	40
Non-influentials	73	11	16 ($p < .05$)	14	15	7	50	24	26	176
Government:										
High influentials	57	15	21	15	13	13	57	19	23	47
Low influentials	79	12	9	6	24	3	53	15	32	34
Non-influentials	72	13	15	16	13	9	50	26	24	135
Education:										
High influentials	89	0	11	25	4	11	36	25	39	28
Middle influentials	83	12	6	13	19	2	26	35	19	52
Low influentials	57	23	20	14	14	9	57	20	23	35
Non-influentials	62	15	23	11	16	12	57	17	26	101
Church:										
Influentials	67	13	21	8	17	17	63	33	4	24
Non-influentials	70	14	16	15	15	8	51	21	28 ($p < .05$)	192
Other:										
Influentials	76	9	15	9	18	3	35	32	32	34
Non-influentials	69	14	17	15	14	10	55	21	24	182
Profession:										
Educator	76	13	11	18	13	7	48	28	24	102
Non-educator	64	14	22 ($p < .10$)	11	17	11	55	18	27	114
National Origin:										
Colombian	68	14	18	13	15	8	53	22	25	181
Foreigner	80	9	11	17	11	11	46	26	29	35
Age:										
Under 40	72	9	19	14	12	9	51	26	23	43
40's	76	11	13	12	16	8	47	23	31	75
50's	65	14	21	14	18	11	53	23	24	66
Over 60	63	25	13	19	9	6	63	19	19	32
Family Background:										
"Mixed"	78	7	15	19	15	0	48	19	33	27
New elite	63	17	20	9	12	8	54	20	26	65
Traditional elite	69	15	17	15	18	11	54	25	21	89
Foreigner	80	9	11	17	11	11	46	26	29	35
Place of Residence:										
Bogotá	70	13	18	7	17	7	45	25	29	102
Outside Bogotá	66	16	18	22	14	10	63	18	19	79
Foreigner	80	9	11	17 ($p < .02$)	11	11	46	26	29	35
Training:										
Education or behavioral science:										
No	64	17	19	14	13	9	54	21	25	149
Yes	82	6	12 ($p < .05$)	13	18	7	48	25	27	67
Business or economics:										
No	69	15	16	16	12	7	52	20	27	147
Yes	71	10	19	10	20	12	51	28	22	69
Law:										
No	75	12	14	15	16	9	52	22	27	139
Yes	61	17	22	12	13	8	52	25	23	77
Medicine, engineering, natural science:										
No	70	12	18	12	15	10	53	23	24	177
Yes	69	21	10	21	15	5	46	21	33	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:										
No	73	13	14	14	14	7	50	23	27	159
Knowledge:										
Developments in the economy and polity:										
Less knowledgeable	84	6	9	13	19	13	59	19	22	32
Knowledgeable	78	12	10	12	14	12	50	32	18	50
More knowledgeable	63	16	21 ($p < .10$)	15	14	7	51	20	29	134
Developments in education:										
Less knowledgeable	62	15	23	12	15	8	50	23	27	26
Knowledgeable	75	10	15	3	19	15	49	25	25	59
More knowledgeable	69	15	16	19 ($p < .02$)	13	6	53	21	25	131
Attitudes:										
Developments in the economy and polity:										
Least favorable	76	13	11	13	15	11	57	22	20	54
Less favorable	77	10	13	7	17	15	40	20	40	40
More favorable	69	14	17	19	10	9	56	26	19	20
Most favorable	60	15	25	13	19	2	50	21	29	52
Developments in education:										
Least favorable	74	15	10	13	15	8	62	26	13	39
Less favorable	73	7	20	9	16	11	43	23	34	70
More favorable	55	30	15	15	15	6	55	6	39	33
Most favorable	72	11	18 ($p < .10$)	19	14	8	54	28	18 ($p < .02$)	74
Wealth-related:										
No	72	14	15	15	19	10	54	24	22	109
Yes	68	13	19	13	10 ($p < .10$)	7	50	21	29	107
Power-related:										
No	67	15	18	13	16	9	53	23	24	189
Yes	89	4	7	22	7	7	41	22	37	27
Solidarity-related:										
No	65	14	22	13	14	9	48	21	31	116
Yes	76	13	11 ($p < .10$)	15	16	8	56	25	19	100
Character-building:										
No	70	14	16	13	16	6	55	21	24	116
Yes	70	13	17	15	14	12	48	25	27	100
Task-oriented:										
No	66	16	10	12	19	10	57	22	21	124
Yes	75	10	15	16	9 ($p < .05$)	7	45	24	32	92
Pattern-oriented:										
No	70	14	16	13	17	12	53	21	27	112
Yes	70	13	17	15	13	6	51	25	24	104
Systemic:										
No	69	15	16	11	16	9	52	23	24	184
Yes	75	6	19	28	6	9	50	19	31	32

Sectors of Activity Assigned the Foreign Agencies

One of the first things that must be noted is that the respondents differed very much in the way they defined foreign agencies. Most respondents did not distinguish among the United States government, private foundations, and multilateral organizations such as the UNESCO, notwithstanding their explicit mention.

A possible result is that not a few respondents ascribed to the foreign agencies considerable influence in being able to change the policies of the United States government toward Colombia or to bring about a more favorable price for Colombian exports.

The blurred image of the foreign agencies would suggest that one important determinant of the respondents' assignment of a sector of activity to these foreign agencies would be the respondent's own knowledge about these agencies. While no measure is available for knowledge of the activities of these foreign agencies, a very rough measure is available in the respondents' knowledge about recent developments in economics, politics, and education. (Specification of recent developments in the field of education frequently involved naming programs supported by foreign agencies.)

Table 39 shows that (1) the more knowledgeable a respondent was about developments in economics and politics, the more likely he was to suggest an educational role; (2) respondents knowledgeable about developments in education were most likely to propose an economic role; and (3) respondents more favorable toward developments in economics and politics were more likely to suggest an educational role.

These findings are difficult to interpret in terms of either the rational man or spokesman-guardian model of the Colombian influential. It could be that these findings are an artifact of the different interpretations placed on the term, "foreign agencies." Nonetheless, these findings do suggest that while the Colombian influential may be able to see the foreign agencies as a source of some kind of assistance, he has difficulty in seeing how the resources these agencies could make available might be programmed together with local resources to bring about improvements in that sector of the society to which he is affiliated (or perhaps he has difficulty in considering this aid to be acceptable).

Complicating an explanation of these relationships is the fact that many respondents had some reservations about the role of foreign agencies -- and the way they have performed these roles -- in Colombia. Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents extended the qualification that programs should be adapted rather than adopted while 26 per cent advocated the retention of control or initiative by Colombian individuals and institutions. Thirteen per cent criticized foreign assistance,

TABLE 39

ROLE OF FOREIGN AGENCIES[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, and Attitude)

	Economy	Education	Diffuse	Number
Sector of Influence:				
Economy:				
Influentials	13	27	65	40
Non-influentials	15	22	67	176
Government:				
High influentials	21	26	70	47
Low influentials	9	29	62	34
Non-influentials	14	21	67	135
Education:				
High influentials	14	21	64	21
Middle influentials	10	27	65	52
Low influentials	11	14	77	35
Non-influentials	19	25	64	101
Church:				
Influentials	17	13	63	24
Non-influentials	15	24	67	192
Other:				
Influentials	21	32	59	34
Non-influentials	14	21	68	182
Profession:				
Educator	12	20	72	102
Non-educator	18	26	62	114
National Origin:				
Colombian	16	24	66	181
Foreigner	9	17	71	35
Age:				
Under 40	16	19	72	43
40's	16	24	64	75
50's	14	32	61	66
Over 60	13	9 ($p < .10$)	78	32
Family Background:				
"Mixed"	19	22	63	27
New elite	18	18	69	65
Traditional elite	13	29	64	89
Foreigner	9	17	71	35
Place of Residence:				
Bogotá	14	25	69	102
Outside Bogotá	19	24	62	79
Foreigner	9	17	71	35
Training:				
Education or behavioral science:				
No	15	25	65	149
Yes	13	19	70	67
Business or economics:				
No	14	24	68	147
Yes	16	20	64	69
Law:				
No	14	22	64	139
Yes	17	26	71	77
Medicine, engineering, natural science:				
No	16	21	68	177
Yes	10	31	59	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:				
No	16	26	64	159
Yes	11	16	74	57
Knowledge:				
Developments in the economy and polity:				
Less knowledgeable	13	13	72	32
Knowledgeable	10	16	68	50
More knowledgeable	17	28 ($p < .10$)	65	134
Developments in education:				
Less knowledgeable	4	19	77	26
Knowledgeable	22	24	68	59
More knowledgeable	14 ($p < .10$)	24	64	131
Attitudes:				
Developments in the economy and polity:				
Least favorable	13	13	70	54
Less favorable	15	22	70	40
More favorable	16	33	61	70
Most favorable	15	21 ($p < .10$)	67	52
Developments in education:				
Least favorable	8	15	79	39
Less favorable	17	21	67	70
More favorable	12	33	55	33
Most favorable	18	24	65	74

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[a] This table shows the responses to the question:

"Here is a question on a different topic. People talk about the influence of certain external powers and forces on Colombian national development. For example, there are agencies, such as UNESCO and the Ford Foundation, and there are foreign governments, especially the United States government. In your opinion, what should be the proper role of these outside influences in Colombian national development?"

Responses were divided into three categories corresponding to the sectors in which, respondents suggested, the foreign agencies should work: economy, education, or unspecified.

Due to the small number of specific responses, it was not feasible to classify them according to appropriate level of activity.

stating that it was extended with political strings; nine per cent expressed resentment over the condescension with which aid was offered, and six per cent pointed at the economic strings to foreign assistance.

Forty-six per cent of the respondents made one or the other of the first two criticisms (both of them revolving around the question of local control) while 24 per cent named at least one of the latter three criticisms, related to the strings attached to foreign aid.

Age was related to both types of criticism. Respondents in their 60's -- followed by those under 40 -- were more likely to give control-related criticisms. On the other hand, it was the group under 40 -- followed by the respondents over 60 -- who decried the political and economic strings as well as the condescension that accompanied foreign assistance (see Table 40). The strings that come with foreign assistance were less likely to be cited by political influentials.

These indications of ambivalence about foreign aid seem to revolve around the issue of control: control over the projects made possible by foreign assistance or control over the conditions under which such assistance is extended. There is some hint that part of this ambivalence may be due to lack of too much first-hand contact with the foreign agencies: respondents in government are the most likely people to have such first-hand contact; yet, they were less likely to criticize the strings that accompanied foreign aid.

One explanation might be brought forward for the greater tendency of respondents more favorable about economic and political developments to suggest an educational role for the foreign agencies and respondents knowledgeable about developments in education to suggest an economic role. One might speculate that to many influentials, a recommendation that foreign agencies should work in one's sphere of influence is a "confession" of inadequacy and/or willingness to give up control. Following this line of reasoning, a recommendation that foreign agencies work in a sphere outside one's influence is to suggest inadequacies in that sphere.

The respondents assignment of appropriate sectors of activity to the foreign agencies was related to only one definition of development: the unspecific response was directly related to the character-building definition.

If an unspecific answer manifests a belief that foreign agencies can play a part in national development coupled with an inability to specify the part it should play, the direct relationship between the unspecific response and a character-building definition of development is explainable. Respondents who viewed development in character-building terms would probably be the hardest-put to specify exactly what role foreign agencies should play in this regard.

TABLE 40

RESERVATIONS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN AGENCIES

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, Attitude, and Definitions of Development)

	Need for Local Control[a]	Dissatisfaction with Conditions of Assistance[b]	Number
Sector of Influence:			
Economy:			
Influentials	27	50	40
Non-influentials	23	45	176
Government:			
High influentials	19	47	47
Low influentials	12	32	34
Non-influentials	29 ($p < .10$)	50	135
Education:			
High influentials	18	43	28
Middle influentials	27	52	52
Low influentials	34	57	35
Non-influentials	21	41	101
Church:			
Influentials	33	63	24
Non-influentials	23	44	192
Other:			
Influentials	32	41	34
Non-influentials	23	47	182
Profession:			
Educator	27	49	102
Non-educator	21	44	114
National Origin:			
Colombian	26	44	181
Foreigner	14	57	35
Age:			
Under 40	37	49	43
40's	23	37	75
50's	14	45	66
Over 60	31 ($p < .05$)	66 ($p < .10$)	32
Family Background:			
"Mixed"	26	37	27
New elite	31	43	65
Traditional elite	22	47	89
Foreigner	14	57	35
Place of Residence:			
Bogotá	27	44	102
Outside Bogotá	24	44	79
Foreigner	14	57	35
Training:			
Education or behavioral science:			
No	25	46	149
Yes	22	48	67
Business or economics:			
No	22	44	147
Yes	28	51	69
Law:			
No	23	46	139
Yes	26	47	77
Medicine, engineering, natural science:			
No	27	49	177
Yes	13	36	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:			
No	22	43	159
Yes	30	54	57
Knowledge:			
Developments in the economy and polity:			
Less knowledgeable	28	34	32
Knowledgeable	26	52	50
More knowledgeable	22	47	134
Developments in education:			
Less knowledgeable	27	42	26
Knowledgeable	27	42	59
More knowledgeable	22	49	131
Attitudes:			
Developments in the economy and polity:			
Least favorable	31	44	54
Less favorable	22	42	40
More favorable	21	47	70
Most favorable	21	50	52
Developments in education:			
Least favorable	33	41	39
Less favorable	27	44	70
More favorable	12	48	33
Most favorable	22	50	74
Wealth-related:			
No	23	44	109
Yes	25	49	107
Power-related:			
No	25	47	189
Yes	19	41	27
Solidarity-related:			
No	26	51	116
Yes	22	41	100
Character-building:			
No	23	41	116
Yes	25	52	100
Task-oriented:			
No	21	44	124
Yes	28	50	92
Pattern-oriented:			
No	29	46	112
Yes	19	46	104
Systemic:			
No	24	45	184
Yes	16	56	32

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[a] This category includes responses to the effect that initiative and/or project control should be in Colombian hands or that programs should be adapted to the Colombian situation rather than uncritically adopted.

[b] This category includes criticisms to the effect that assistance is often extended with political interference, economic strings, and/or condescension.

Sectors of Activity Assigned to the Church

There were no significant differences among the various groups with respect to the recommendation that the Church play an economic role (see Table 41). As for the welfare role, only those trained as humanists, journalists, and theologians were more likely than those trained differently to make this suggestion. Persons more favorable toward developments in economics and politics were most likely to make the unspecific response. With respect to definitions of development, respondents who gave a pattern-oriented definition of development were less likely to assign an economic role for the Church. This was the only significant relationship -- and it is not inconsistent with the notion that the Church in Colombia is seen primarily as a conservative force.

Pressing as Colombia's educational needs are, it might have been expected that the people in education would be the first one to welcome the church's involvement in the field of education. The evidence seems to indicate that this would be true primarily of those trained in education. If the high educational influentials' omission of an educational role for the Church is considered to be a lack of enthusiasm for more Church involvement, this could be interpreted as a lack of confidence in the Church's competence in the area -- but the willingness of those trained as educators to accept the Church's role does not support this interpretation. A more appealing interpretation -- and one consistent with the model of the Colombian influential developed here -- would trace the reservations to further Church involvement in education to be due to concern lest additional institutions be set up to compete for the funds set aside by the state for educational purposes.

Thus, in the educational as well as in the economic sphere, there seems to be a tendency for the Colombian influentials to obtain resources for their respective sectors less by showing that they can use these resources better as by limiting others' access to these resources.

Relationships among the Various Role Assignments

The rational approach to a problem would be to combine all the resources available and bring them to bear on the problem. This does not seem to be a widespread tendency among the Colombian influentials, at least those in the fields of economics and education. It seems that they have a greater tendency to think less about whether a problem is to be solved and to think more as to whether they will be the ones to solve it, as to whether they will be able to maintain their positions of influence and power. To this end, there is a tendency to limit access to resources to those already within the interest group.

TABLE 41

ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Sector of Influence, Profession, National Origin, Age, Family Background, Place of Residence, Training, Knowledge, Attitude, and Definitions of Development)

	Economic	Educational and Cultural			Welfare	Diffuse	Number
		Not Applicable	Low Involvement	High Involvement			
Sector of Influence:							
Economy:							
Influentials	10	50	25	25	10	10	40
Non-influentials	13	57	10	34 (p < .05)	11	15	176
Government:							
High influentials	17	62	11	28	13	17	47
Low influentials	12	47	18	35	9	12	34
Non-influentials	10	56	12	33	11	14	135
Education:							
High influentials	18	75	4	21	11	29	28
Middle influentials	13	46	13	40	8	13	52
Low influentials	3	54	6	40	17	11	35
Non-influentials	13	52	17	28 (p < .10)	11	12	101
Church:							
Influentials	8	46	8	46	17	13	24
Non-influentials	13	57	13	30	10	15	192
Other:							
Influentials	9	53	18	29	3	15	34
Non-influentials	13	56	12	32	13	14	182
Profession:							
Educator	13	54	9	37	11	13	102
Non-educator	11	57	16	27	11	16	114
National Origin:							
Colombian	13	52	13	34	10	14	181
Foreigner	6	71	9	20	14	14	35
Age:							
Under 40	14	51	14	35	12	12	43
40's	8	55	13	32	11	17	75
50's	18	61	11	29	17	12	66
Over 60	6	53	13	34	0	16	32
Family Background:							
"Mixed"	7	48	15	37	15	15	27
New elite	17	54	11	35	8	14	65
Traditional elite	12	53	15	33	11	15	89
Foreigner	6	71	9	20	14	14	35
Place of Residence:							
Bogotá	15	54	10	36	11	15	102
Outside Bogotá	11	51	18	32	10	14	79
Foreigner	6	71	9	20	14	14	35
Training:							
Education or behavioral science:							
No	12	56	16	28	13	14	149
Yes	12	55	4 (p < .05)	40	7	15	67
Business or economics:							
No	12	58	13	29	12	16	147
Yes	12	51	12	38	10	10	69
Law:							
No	9	53	12	35	9	14	139
Yes	17	60	14	26	14	16	77
Medicine, engineering, natural science:							
No	12	54	13	33	10	14	177
Yes	13	62	10	28	15	18	39
Humanities, journalism, theology:							
No	13	55	12	33	8	15	159
Yes	9	56	14	30	19 (p < .05)	12	57
Knowledge:							
Developments in the economy and polity:							
Less knowledgeable	6	56	16	28	9	16	32
Knowledgeable	14	68	2	30	16	10	50
More knowledgeable	13	51	16	34 (p < .10)	10	16	134
Developments in education:							
Less knowledgeable	15	73	8	19	12	15	26
Knowledgeable	10	59	7	34	14	15	59
More knowledgeable	12	50	16	34	10	14	131
Attitudes:							
Developments in the economy and polity:							
Least favorable	15	59	7	33	13	4	34
Less favorable	10	60	13	27	7	20	40
More favorable	11	49	14	37	14	10	70
Most favorable	12	58	15	27	8	27 (p < .01)	32
Developments in education:							
Least favorable	13	56	10	33	10	10	39
Less favorable	16	63	7	30	10	17	70
More favorable	9	55	21	24	15	15	33
Most favorable	9	49	15	36	11	14	74
Wealth-related:							
No	10	55	13	32	11	17	109
Yes	14	56	12	32	11	12	107
Power-related:							
No	13	56	13	31	12	14	189
Yes	7	52	11	37	7	15	27
Solidarity-related:							
No	16	59	12	29	9	14	116
Yes	8	52	13	35	13	15	100
Character-building:							
No	12	56	14	30	10	14	116
Yes	12	55	11	34	12	15	100
Task-oriented:							
No	11	56	11	33	13	17	124
Yes	13	55	14	30	9	11	92
Pattern-oriented:							
No	16	60	12	29	10	14	112
Yes	8 (p < .10)	51	13	36	13	14	104
Systemic:							
No	11	55	13	32	12	15	184
Yes	19	59	9	31	6	13	32

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[a] This table shows the responses to the question, "What about the Catholic Church in Colombia: what do you think should be the proper role of the Catholic Church in Colombian national development?"

However, it is possible that this strategy of blocking others' entry into one's sector of influence and blocking their access to resources may be the optimum strategy, particularly if the other institutions seeking entry into the field are considered to be unprepared to do a very good job. If the strategy of blockade is indeed the optimum strategy, reached after a lot of weighing of the pros and the cons, it might be expected that there should be some relationships in the pattern of role assignments for the three different institutions.

Table 42 shows that this probably is not the case: there was only one significant relationship among the various specific role assignments -- respondents who assigned an economic role to the foreign agencies were more likely to propose a minor educational role for the Catholic Church. This lack of relationship would suggest no small amount of capriciousness in the choice of roles assigned to the various agencies.

This is not inconsistent with the view of the Colombian influential as being more or less unable to integrate various institutions into developmental process or with the model of the Colombian influential as a spokesman-guardian of sectoral interests.

Summary

Earlier, it was suggested that the Colombian influential seemed unable to integrate the educational system into the process of national development and that it might be more useful to view the Colombian influential less as a person who views the situation, defines the problems, weighs the costs and benefits of alternative policies, and selects the most efficient and effective one.

This chapter pursued the point further, testing the Colombian influentials' ability to integrate the central government, foreign agencies, and the Catholic Church -- institutions with different functions and with different degrees of acceptance within Colombian society -- in the process of national development.

The data indicate a certain amount of ignorance with respect to the functions of the foreign agencies as well as a certain acceptance -- even expectation -- of a diffuse role for government in the modernization process. The data also suggest that respondents' assignments of these institutions to activities in given sectors of society -- as well as level of involvement they consider appropriate -- were related only partly (at times, it would appear, capriciously) to their sectors of affiliation. In terms of the model of the Colombian influential as a spokesman-guardian of sectoral interests, these results may perhaps be best explained by suggesting that the respondents would advocate one of these institutions' activity in their own sector of influence only if

TABLE 42

ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH[a]

(Percentage Distribution by Roles of the Central Government and of the Foreign Agencies)

	Economic	Educational and Cultural			Welfare	Diffuse	Number
		Not Applicable	Low Involvement	High Involvement			
Foreign Agencies:							
Economic:							
No	11	57	10	33	11	15	184
Yes	16	47	28	25 (p < .02)	13	13	32
Education:							
No	11	58	11	31	11	14	166
Yes	12	46	18	36	12	14	50
Diffuse:							
No	14	47	19	33	14	13	72
Yes	11	60	9	31 (p < .10)	10	15	144
Central Government:							
Economic:							
Not applicable	10	54	13	33	9	16	151
Low involvement	7	38	21	41	14	7	29
High involvement	25	75	6	19	19	14	36
Political:							
No	11	57	11	32	12	16	186
Yes	20	47	20	33	7	7	30
Educational:							
No	13	55	13	32	10	15	184
Yes	6	56	13	31	16	9	32
Welfare:							
No	13	57	12	31	9	15	197
Yes	0	42	16	42	32	5	19
Diffuse:							
Not applicable	11	49	14	37	15	6	112
Low involvement	10	57	8	35	6	20	49
High involvement	16	67	13	20	7	25 (p < .01)	55

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[a] There were no significant relationships between developmental roles assigned to the central government and those assigned to foreign agencies.

such activity were seen as redounding to their power and influence, or at least, not compromising it.

The lack of any significant relationships among the various sectorial assignments of the three institutions strengthens the suggestion that by and large, the Colombian influentials were unable to consider these institutions as possible sources of manpower, funds, and other types of support that could be tapped for economic, political, educational, or welfare purposes; or, if they did consider these institutions as sources of such support, they were unwilling to accept it, either because they considered the support as inappropriate or because they thought the price for this support was too high. It is suggested that the price considered too high is the prospect of reduced power and influence.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATORS, ECONOMIC INFLUENTIALS, AND POLITICAL INFLUENTIALS: HOW THEY VIEW EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Overview

In the previous chapters, suggestions have been made to the effect that a great many of the differences in opinion and in the organization of opinion among Colombian influentials are traceable to the fact of position. A further step was made with the suggestion that the Colombian influential tended to approach the issue of development less as a person seeking to "make the most" out of available resources and more as a spokesman-guardian of his sectoral interests.

Strictly speaking, the evidence presented so far would hold true only of the Colombian educators since in all cases, position as educator or non-educator has been used as the controlling variable. To strengthen the suggestion, it would be necessary to compare educators with influentials in the other sectors of society.

What follows is a description of the opinions and organization of opinions of educators as compared to (1) political influentials and respondents who were neither, and (2) economic influentials and respondents who were neither. It was, thus, impossible to trace differences among those presumably interested in the enhancement of the solidarity-related capability; the power-related capability; and the wealth-related capability. Modernization, moreover, would call for the enhancement of all these capabilities to proceed in such a manner that they support, rather than conflict, with one another.

Viewed from another perspective, each sector of society may be considered as a change agent vis-a-vis the other: each sector may be viewed as being in a position to assist the other meet some need of the latter that it cannot at present meet. These societal needs are the demands of the modernization process: some are old needs that can no longer be met by the society's traditional structures and functions; others have arisen due to changed circumstances or in the context of the developmental process itself.

In any change relationship, the change agent's assistance generally takes the form of assisting the client system, i.e., the institution or group to be assisted, analyze the situation, examine alternatives, encourage change efforts, and facilitate the stabilization and generalization of change.

The economy, the government, and the educational system may be considered as performing the role of change agents among one another. As each of these sectors pursue their policies and programs that have some impact on the other, each one is implicitly and explicitly defining the situation, examining alternatives, encouraging change efforts, and facilitating the stabilization and generalization of change.

The policies each of these sectors pursue -- manifested in rules and regulations, allocations and collections, praises and condemnations -- have some impact on the effectiveness with which groups and persons play their roles within the society.

In the long run, these policies and programs may widen the resource base of the society to the extent that they facilitate the persons' or institutions' acquisition of the means (e.g., skills, knowledge, tools, funds) to perform their roles effectively.

These sectors' policies may also affect the developmental process to the extent that they widen the range of opportunities and in so doing facilitate the spread of the client persons' and institutions' actions, decisions, and the perceptions and judgments underpinning them. Client persons and institutions are afforded opportunities to test and expand reality and learn of opportunities and dangers.

These sectors' policies may also tend to control the client persons' and institutions' behavior and disperse their resources in desired directions. In turn, the client persons and institutions are afforded a wider range of choices.

The success of a change relationship depends to a very large extent on the compatibility of the change agent's and the client system's analysis of the situation, definition of the problem, choice of alternative means, and standards for deciding among alternative ends and means.

The ability of the Colombian educational system to play a change agent's role vis-à-vis Colombian society -- and particularly the Colombian government and economy -- would seem to be severely qualified by differences between the perceptions and judgments of educators on the one hand and those of the economic, political, and other leaders of Colombian society.

And if the situation were reversed, such that the educational system were now looked upon as the client system and other sectors of society, notably government and the economy, as possible agents of change, the same observation would apply: change within the educational system will be difficult to achieve because of these differences in perceptions and judgments between those who would help and those who would want to be helped.

While each sector may be said to be a change agent vis-á-vis the entire society, in terms of the systemic model of society that has guided this research, the goods and services that are produced by each societal subsystem are transferred to some other subsystem to be used by the latter for the enhancement of the societal capability pertinent to it.

Hence, it was deemed more useful to compare the opinions and organization of opinions of educators, political influentials, and those who were neither (hereinafter referred to as the "education-politics comparison") to show (1) whether the educational system's claims on the polity were recognized by the latter as its obligations to the former; (2) whether the polity's claims on the educational system were recognized by the latter as its obligations to the former; and (3) whether these mutual claims and obligations were recognized by influentials who were outside either subsystem. The same comparison will be made among educators, economic influentials, and respondents who were neither (hereinafter referred to as the "education-business comparison").

Opinions Regarding Education

Table 43 shows the distribution of the respondents' comments on education.

Attitude toward education was not related to either the education-politics or the education-business comparison. With respect to comments on primary and secondary education, however, the education-politics comparison approached significance with the educators and political influentials being more likely to cite standards, the political influentials less likely to propose programs, and the others being more likely to cite problems. But neither the education-business nor education-politics comparison yielded any significant relationships between attitude toward education and comments on primary and secondary education.

With respect to the ability to relate the different comments on elementary and secondary education, neither comparison yielded any significant relationships between the proposal of programs or the citing of standards. However, political influentials and respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials who pointed to problems were more likely to cite standards while respondents who were neither

TABLE 43

COMMENTS ON EDUCATION

(Percentage Distribution by Position of Educator, Economic Influential and Neither; of Educator, Political Influential, and Neither)

	Educator	Economic Influential	Neither	Political Influential	Neither
Attitude toward education:					
Dissatisfied	41	36	29	34	28
Neither	50	62	65	62	66
Satisfied	9	3	5	3	6
Comments on primary and secondary education:					
Cites problem	60	44	53	59	40
Cites program	19	21	13	11	21
Cites standard	22	36	33	30	40 ($p < .10$)
Comments on University education:					
Problem defined:					
Personnel-related	61	28	43 ($p < .01$)	41	34 ($p < .01$)
System-related	24	21	28	20	32
Solutions recommended:					
Expansion of programs	48	15	29 ($p < .001$)	30	19 ($p < .001$)
Administrative reforms	24	18	20	24	18
Roles for which education should prepare people:					
Leadership	22	18	13	13	17
Economic	41	41	51 ($p < .05$)	57	47
Teaching	22	5	8 ($p < .01$)	5	9 ($p < .01$)
Orientations education should inculcate:					
Social concern	72	69	53 ($p < .05$)	49	70 ($p < .02$)
Task orientation	62	54	41 ($p < .05$)	41	51 ($p < .05$)
Pattern orientation	56	51	40	49	38 ($p < .10$)
General	66	64	55	54	62
Function of education:					
Formative	55	51	37 ($p < .10$)	38	47
Informative	28	10	17	10	21 ($p < .02$)
Number	102	39	75	61	53

educators nor political influentials who cited at least two problems were likely to cite standards. The respondents who fell in the residual category in either comparison were apparently able to match programs with problems: the more problems were cited, the more probable a program was suggested.

These findings strengthen the previous suggestion to the effect that educators, as a rule, did not match programs, problems, and standards with one another, probably because they took a lot for granted, or expected to be believed on faith; they also support the suggestion of an inability on the part of the respondents to match programs with standards.

Both comparisons yielded significant differences with respect to definition of the problems on the university level as personnel-related and with respect to the proposal of an expansion of university programs.

Educators were more likely to picture university problems as stemming from the qualitative inadequacies of students and faculty; the economic influentials were least likely to do so; the respondents who were neither stood somewhere inbetween, somewhat closer to the educators. Educators were more prone to propose an expansion of university programs; economic influentials were less likely to do so; the respondents who were neither stood somewhere inbetween, but were somewhat closer to the economic influentials.

Respondents who were neither educators nor political influentials were less likely to define educational problems in personnel-related terms or to advocate an expansion of programs while the political influentials stood about one-third of the way between them and the educators.

Educators and the respondents in either residual category who defined the problems as system-related were likely to propose administrative solutions; this was not true of political influentials.

Respondents in either residual category and political influentials who defined the problems in personnel-related terms were more likely to propose an expansion of university programs. In either case, the small number of economic influentials does not make it possible to make any statement with respect to them.

Neither comparison yielded a difference with respect to the proposal that education should prepare people for leadership roles. With respect to economic roles, however, the education-business comparison yielded a very interesting difference: exactly the same percentage of educators and economic influentials proposed economic roles while respondents who were neither were about one and one-half times more likely to insist that the educational system should prepare more people for economic roles. If the educators and the economic influentials are considered to be the best judges of the ability of the educational system to perform this task and the appropriateness of it, it would appear that the respondents who were neither were manifesting a rather unrealistic expectation.

Not surprisingly, educators were far more likely than the other two groups in either comparison to propose teaching roles. In either case, the two other groups were quite similar though the respondents in the residual categories seemed a little more disposed to having the educational system produce teachers.

With respect to the orientations the educational system should inculcate, educators were more likely to propose social concern and task orientation, with the respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials being least likely to do so. On social concern, the economic influentials were quite similar to the educators; on task-orientation, they stood between the two groups, about two-thirds of the way closer to the educators. On social concern, the political influentials were quite similar to the educators, but were the least likely to propose task-orientation, with the respondents who were neither political influentials nor educators standing about half way between them. The education-politics comparison also yielded a significant difference on pattern-orientation, with the educators being most likely to propose it, the political influentials least likely to.

There were also differences on the definition of the educational process as primarily formative or informative. Educators and economic influentials were quite similar in being more likely to consider it to be formative, but split with respect to the informative aspect, the educators being nearly three times as likely as the economic influentials to consider it informative. Educators were nearly thrice as likely as respondents who were neither to define the function of education to be primarily informative.

With respect to the relationship between the roles the respondents felt education should prepare people for and the orientations they felt it should inculcate, the inability of the educators to relate task-orientation with leadership has already been noted. Respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials, however, did connect these two things, being nine times as likely to propose task-orientation if they proposed leadership ($p < .02$). They were also more likely to propose the "general" orientation if they suggested leadership ($p < .10$). The small number of influentials in the economy, government, and the residual category of the education-business comparison who proposed leadership roles does not make feasible any statement with respect to them.

It has been pointed out that educators who proposed economic roles were less likely to favor the inculcation of task-orientation. Economic influentials, however, saw no connection between the two, while respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials resembled the educators in relating the two inversely ($p < .05$). This inverse relationship was also true among political influentials ($p < .05$).

This underscores the respondents' incomplete grasp of the relationship between personality variables and roles: it is bad enough that economic influentials did not see any relationship; it is worse that educators and political influentials see them as inversely related.

With respect to the comparisons of the way the respondents organized their comments on university education, the only additional finding that may be added to those enumerated in Chapter V is that respondents who were neither political influentials nor educators who felt that education should inculcate task-orientation were likely to define university problems in personnel-related terms ($p < .10$).

Opinions on Development

Only the solidarity-related and the pattern-orientation definitions of development were related to the education-business and education-politics comparisons, with the educators in both cases being more likely to make such definitions than the other two groups, which were quite similar to each other (see Table 44).

There were strong relationships with sets of programs chosen. Respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials were more than twice as likely as educators to name instrumental programs while economic influentials stood midway between the two groups. Educators were two and one-half times as likely as economic influentials or respondents in the residual category to propose three or more value-expressive programs. Economic influentials were nearly twice as likely as educators and nearly one and one-half times as likely as those who were neither to suggest two or more economic programs. Economic influentials were about half as likely as educators but nearly thrice as likely as the other group to propose three educational programs.

In the education-politics comparison, the political influentials and the others were about twice as likely as the educators to propose three or more instrumental programs, less than half as likely to propose three or more value-expressive programs, one-third as likely as the educators to suggest three educational programs. Respondents who were neither educators nor political influentials were most likely to advocate two or more economic programs; the educators were least likely; and the political influentials were closer to the former in this regard.

TABLE 44

COMMENTS ON DEVELOPMENT

(Percentage Distribution by Position of Educator, Economic Influential, and Neither; of Educator, Political Influential, and Neither)

	Educator	Economic Influential	Neither	Political Influential	Neither
Definition of development:					
Wealth-related	48	44	55	51	51
Power-related	10	13	16	16	13
Solidarity-related	63	33	31 ($p < .001$)	30	34 ($p < .001$)
Character-building	48	41	47	46	43
Task-oriented	41	46	43	43	45
Pattern-oriented	59	41	37 ($p < .02$)	39	38 ($p < .02$)
Systemic	15	13	16	15	15
Programs recommended (combinations):					
Instrumental					
One or None	43	18	20	20	19
Two	45	62	52	54	57
Three or More	12	21	28 ($p < .01$)	26	25 ($p < .01$)
Value-expressive					
One or None	15	28	32	33	28
Two	46	56	53	52	57
Three or More	39	15	15 ($p < .001$)	15	15 ($p < .001$)
Economic					
None	16	8	38	5	9
One	46	21	72	41	26
Two or More	38	72	52 ($p < .01$)	54	64 ($p < .02$)
Educational					
One or None	45	74	80	75	81
Two	31	13	15	16	11
Three	24	13	5 ($p < .001$)	8	8 ($p < .001$)
Economic development	47	64	57	56	64
Agricultural development	53	69	67 ($p < .10$)	69	66 ($p < .10$)
Elementary education	74	72	73	75	70
Secondary education	59	26	17 ($p < .001$)	18	23 ($p < .001$)
University education	48	38	28 ($p < .05$)	31	32 ($p < .05$)
Public works	25	36	36	38	34
Public health	48	56	57	51	64
Political reform	33	26	44	41	34
	102	39	75	53	61

As regards the single programs, there were differences only with respect to agricultural development, secondary education, and university education. In either comparison, educators were less likely to suggest agricultural development than the two other groups which were quite similar. Educators were most likely to propose secondary education, with economic influentials being more sympathetic than the respondents in the residual category and political influentials being less sympathetic than respondents in the residual category. Educators were most likely to advocate university education, with the economic influentials standing midway between them and the respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials. In this respect, the political influentials resembled the respondents in the residual category quite closely.

The education-business and education-politics comparisons were made with respect to the relationships between number of instrumental programs or number of value-expressive programs and definitions of development which had been found to be significant. The only significant relationships that persisted involved the solidarity-related definition: its inverse relationship with number of instrumental programs chosen and its direct one with number of value-expressive programs chosen were significant among respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials ($p < .02$ and $p < .01$, respectively). It may be noted in passing that a dichotomization of number of instrumental programs chosen into two or less and more than two leads to an inverse relationship between it and a solidarity-related definition of development among political influentials.

With respect to the relationships between number of economic programs chosen and definitions of development, again, the relationships that persisted after the education-business and the education-politics comparisons were made involved the solidarity-related definition. Of course, the educators who defined development in solidarity-related terms continued to be most likely to propose one economic program. Respondents who were neither educators nor economic influentials who defined development in solidarity-related terms were also more likely to propose one economic program ($p < .10$).

Relationships between Opinions on Development and on Education

Definitions of development appeared to have little to do with respondents' location of university problems. After the education-business and education-politics comparisons were made, it appeared that only the political influentials who had made a character-building definition of development were more likely to define problems as system-related ($p < .10$).

Definitions of development also appeared to have little to do with the type of solutions the respondents suggested. After the education-business and education-politics comparisons were made, it appeared that only those respondents who were neither educators nor political influentials who expressed a wealth-related view of development were likely to suggest an expansion of university programs ($p < .10$).

Definitions of development appeared to have little to do with the orientations respondents expected education to inculcate. After the comparisons were made, it appeared that only the political influentials who proposed a solidarity-related definition of development were less likely to advocate the inculcation of pattern-orientation ($p < .10$).

Definitions of development appeared to have little to do with the roles education was expected to inculcate. Political influentials who defined development in power-related terms were more likely to propose economic roles ($p < .10$).

Even more disconcerting was the little effect proposed programs had on the roles the respondents expected education to prepare people for. There were no significant relationships between the proposal of economic programs and economic roles or between the proposal of educational programs and teaching roles. Nor were there any relationships between programs proposed and orientations the respondents expected education to inculcate.

Summary

The evidence presented in this chapter strengthens the earlier suggestions that the respondents by and large were unable to relate the following to one another: (1) their opinions on education, (2) their opinions on development, and (3) their opinions on education and development. Particularly with respect to the interrelationship of their opinions on education with those on development did the respondents perform rather miserably.

The evidence reviewed here is consistent with the view that differences of opinion among Colombian influentials are best explained in terms of position, suggesting that it would seem to be more accurate to say that the differences in the lack of organization of these opinions would be best explained by position.

The lack of organization of opinion among many respondents would seem to suggest that some of their opinions that might be found to be disagreeable stem less from selfishness or venality and more from ignorance.

The evidence also points to the fact that the various sectors of Colombian society are not yet quite ready to perform the role of change agent to one another. The effective performance of such a role is premised on the establishment of a change relationship, i.e., a working relationship between the sectors of society involved in helping one another. The establishment of such a change relationship would involve (1) the assessment of the capacity to accept and use help, (2) the assessment of the motivation to accept and use help, (3) the assessment of the change agent's resources and motivations, (4) the obtaining of a mutuality of expectation for the change relationship, (5) the clarification of the expectations about the kind and amount of work required, (6) the anticipation of difficulties which will emerge in the course of the change relationship, (7) the definition of the influence relationship, and (8) the clarification of the special goals of the change agent.

All these depend, to one degree or another, on a certain degree of consensus on means, ends, and norms for choosing among alternative means and ends, a closer degree of consensus being necessary the closer the working relationship is to be.

It appears that this consensus is lacking and the base for building it rather shaky.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY: THE NEED FOR A BASIS OF DIALOGUE

The findings of the present research support the notion that the idea of education playing a major role in national development is only partially accepted by the Colombian influentials. Their difficulty in assigning a major role to education would stem, it would seem, from an incomplete grasp of the idea of development -- particularly its sociological and psychological implications -- and to an incomplete grasp of the educational process itself.

1. Attitude toward education. The majority of the influentials interviewed expressed dissatsifaction over the performance of the educational system during the present period of change. Over half were qualifiedly dissatisfied; over one-third were unqualifiedly so.

Attitude toward education seemed to be based on the respondents' perceptions of primary and secondary education -- but this turned out to be more a reflection of differences between educators and non-educators. Among educators, attitude toward education seemed to be related to the feeling that the educational system should inculcate social concern.

In any case, there appeared to be a strong tendency -- especially among educators -- to dissociate the elementary and secondary from the university level. It was suggested that this dissociation stemmed from an unwillingness to criticize the university level and a tendency to blame the flaws on the poor instruction given to students on the elementary and secondary levels.

2. Comments on the elementary and secondary levels. The respondents' comments were categorized according to whether they expressed standards, proposed programs, or pointed to problems. The pattern of responses indicates a tendency to point to problems and to cite standards, to point to problems and to propose programs, but no tendency to propose programs and to cite standards. The suggestion that the weakest link in the respondents' perceptions about elementary and secondary education would be that between educational objectives and the means to attain these objectives is especially applicable to the educators: none of the above relationships were true for educators. This suggests that educators either take a lot for granted or expect that they be believed on faith.

3. Comments on university education. The respondents' comments were categorized according to how they defined the locus of university problems (personnel or the system); what solutions they proposed (expansion of university programs or administrative and academic measures); and how they defined the objectives of education (to prepare people for roles -- economic, leadership or teaching; to inculcate orientations -- social concern, task-orientation, pattern-orientation, or the "general" orientation; to transmit information or to facilitate formation).

There was a tendency for respondents who defined the problems as system-related to propose administrative and academic solutions; for those who defined the problems as personnel-related to advocate an expansion of programs, the former relationship persisting after position or training was controlled. Non-educators who defined the problems in personnel-related terms were likely to propose an expansion of university programs while educators who defined problems as personnel-related tended to propose academic and administrative reforms.

4. Comments on university education: perception of the educational process. Of particular interest was the respondents' ability to relate the various objectives of education: if they felt that education should prepare people for certain roles, did they also feel that education should inculcate the appropriate orientations? By the same token, did they feel that the inadequacies of the university system lay in the formative or informative aspect of the educational process? In this respect, the findings were rather disconcerting. If anything, the evidence indicated an inability to connect the appropriate orientations with the roles they expected education to inculcate; in fact, respondents who suggested economic roles were less likely to propose task orientation. More disconcerting was the finding that this inability to connect orientations with roles tended to be truer of educators than non-educators.

5. Comments on university education: interrelationships among problems defined, solutions proposed, and objectives cited. Of particular interest was the respondent's ability to connect what they felt the university system should do with respect to preparing people for roles, inculcating orientations, or performing a formative or informative function with their definition of the problem and with the programs they proposed. It is quite disconcerting to note that the respondents tended to be unable to make such connections. Among the 13 variables, there were only eight significant relationships and all eight proved to be non-significant among non-educators. The educators themselves did not seem to be particularly adept at defining a problem, defining the objective, and selecting a solution.

Also rather disconcerting is the tendency to define problems in personnel-related terms: the only time problems were considered to be system-related was with respect to the belief that education should prepare more people for teaching roles (and this relationship proved to be significant only among respondents trained as educators). It is difficult to see how educational reforms can be justified in terms of their effectiveness in solving educational problems if educational problems tend to be conceived of not as flaws of the system but as flaws of the persons in the system. It is not encouraging to note that the formative function of education is not associated with a problem definition or a proposed solution.

6. Definitions of development. About half of the respondents conceived of development in terms of enhancing wealth, solidarity, or character-building, in terms of more task-oriented or more pattern-oriented. Thirteen per cent felt development involved the enhancement of power. Only 15 per cent felt that development involved the enhancement of all four capabilities of wealth, power, solidarity, and character-building. Definitions of development, by and large, reflected the respondents' positions within the society.

7. Choices of programs. Asked to select four programs to be emphasized in a program of national development, the respondents' choices tended to reflect their definitions of development as well as their positions within society. Position appeared to be a sufficient explanation for choice of programs if the respondents' definition of development reflected his position to begin with. If definition of development did not reflect position, definition of development was likely to be significantly related to program choices.

8. Integration of the educational system into the developmental process. The evidence suggests that: (a) attitude toward education was not related to definition of development; (b) elementary and secondary education were not seen to have very much to do with development; (c) specification of the roles respondents expected education to prepare people for tended to be related more to their positions than to their definitions of development; (d) definition of the problems had little to do with definitions of development; (2) proposed solutions seemed to be related more to respondents' positions than to definitions of development; (f) respondents seemed unable to see the need to prepare people with the orientations and for the roles appropriate for the positions that would be created by the socioeconomic programs they proposed.

9. Integration of other agencies into the developmental process. If the respondents were unable to integrate the educational system into the developmental process, they were even less able, it seems, to integrate the central government, the foreign agencies, and the Catholic Church in the modernization process. This reflects adversely on the Colombian influentials' ability to view institutions -- old and new -- as possible resources of manpower, funds, and other resources that may be aggregated efficiently and effectively for development objectives.

10. Differences among the Colombian influentials. Running through the entire research work are suggestions to the effect that the respondents' positions, rather than their perceptions tended to account for the differences in opinion as well as in the organization of opinion. Accordingly, educators were compared with political influentials and those who were neither; with economic influentials and those who were neither. In most instances, there were great differences among them with respect to both opinion and organization of opinion, with the two non-educator groups in either comparison tending more often to be quite similar.

This suggests that it is premature to think in terms of a public dialogue on Colombian national development, especially the role of education in it. What appears to be more pressing is laying the basis for such a dialogue.

11. The Colombian influential as spokesman-guardian of a sectoral interest. Throughout the present research work, the evidence grows that the respondents' opinions and the relationship among their opinions may be more economically explained in terms of the respondents' position or sector of influence, more specifically, in terms of the advantage of the respondents' respective sectors of influence. It is suggested that the Colombian influential tends to view development less as an integrated attempt to enhance societal capabilities but rather as a scramble to get a larger share of the pie and that the Colombian influential, while committed to national development, tends to construe it in the very narrow terms of his sector of affiliation; and while he seeks national development, he does so with the reservation that such modernization does not involve a decline in the power or prestige of his sector.

This orientation seems traceable less to an attitude of selfishness or malice but seems to stem more from a lack of confidence in the other sectors of society -- that dictates that the influentials should take up the task of modernization themselves -- as well as an incomplete grasp of the modernization process -- which limits the influentials' view of the developmental process to the narrow perspective of their sectoral interests.

There is a lot of good will -- the frequent recurrence of the need to inculcate social concern is evidence enough and many interviews overflow with expressions of willingness to sacrifice. The efficient and effective allocation of resources, however, calls for both knowledge and motivation; for good will, like grace, is no substitute for technique.

But good will can be built upon -- it could be the basis for -- attempts to lay the groundwork for a more meaningful dialogue on Colombian national development. The lines of agreement and disagreement, of course, have first to be traced. Hopefully, this work will contribute to the efforts to lay a groundwork for public dialogue.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

English Version

A1. Colombia is adopting many foreign customs and ways of living, especially those of the United States. How do you feel about that: do you think such foreign influences are a good thing or not?

A2. In your opinion, which traditional value of Colombian society is most worth preserving during this time of change? I know this is a very difficult and subjective question, but a range of opinions will be useful to us.

A3. In your opinion, which new value is most worth having in Colombian society?

B1. Here are some questions about national development in Colombia. First, when you discuss Colombian national development, what changes in the nation are you primarily thinking about?

B2. If a foreign visitor were to ask you about recent progress in industrialization in Colombia, what developments would you especially want to tell him about?

B3. If the visitor were to ask you about recent progress in land reform, what developments would you especially want to tell him about?

B4. If the visitor wanted to know about recent progress in elementary and secondary education, what developments would you mention?

B5. What would you tell the visitor about education above the secondary level?

B6. If the visitor wanted to know about recent progress in political reform, what developments would you tell him about?

C1. Next I would like to ask about some specific programs of development. Let me show you a small list of programs that I'm thinking of. (GIVE LIST TO RESPONDENT.)

Each of these programs is costly. Each requires a large amount of money and manpower.

If you were responsible for preparing a "master-plan" for Colombian national development during the next decade, and if your resources permitted you to emphasize only four of these probrams, which four would you choose to emphasize?

☐ Economic development

☐ Elementary education

☐ University education

☐ Public health and nutrition

☐ Agricultural development

☐ Secondary education

☐ Public works

☐ Political reform

(ALLOW RESPONDENT TO CHOOSE PROGRAMS NOT ON THE LIST IF HE INSISTS. WRITE A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THEM HERE:)

C2. Perhaps you've already told me this in your previous comments, but do you have any "philosophy of national development" that guided you in choosing among these programs?

D1. Here is a question on a different topic. People talk about the influence of certain external powers and forces on Colombian national development. For example, there are agencies, such as UNESCO and the Ford Foundation, and there are foreign governments, especially the United States government. In your opinion, what should be the proper role of these outside influences in Colombian national development?

D2. What about the Colombian central government itself: what do you think should be the proper role of the central government in national development?

D3. What about the Catholic Church in Colombia: what do you think should be the proper role of the Catholic Church in Colombian national development?

E1. Here are some questions specifically about education in Colombia. These are the last attitude questions I have. First, in your opinion, is education presently a force for change in Colombia, or does it tend to keep things as they are?

E2. Do you think that change in the educational system is progressing as fast as change in Colombia in general?

E3. What would you say are some of the roles for which education should especially be preparing Colombian citizens now?

E4. Is Colombian education now inadequately preparing people for any of these roles?

E5. It's often said that the purpose of an education system is to produce "well-educated" men and women. What do you think the term "well-educated" should mean in Colombia?

E6. Educational goals and strategies are now specified by the government. What persons or what groups of people do you think should participate in educational planning in Colombia?

E7. I would like to ask your attitude about the traditional teaching methods employed in Colombia? Would you like to see them changed -- and, if so, what changes?

E8. Next I would like to ask about the subject-matter -- the content -- of elementary and secondary education. Would you like to see changes in the subject-matter -- and, if so, what kinds of changes?

E9. And university education in Colombia: what kinds of changes would you like to see in university education, if any?

E10. Education is usually considered an asset to society. Do you ever feel, however, that education in Colombia may have unforeseen negative consequences?

F1. Those are all the attitude questions I have. Please let me ask you this also, however. We wish to be certain that we do not overlook in our study any Colombians or non-Colombians in positions of leadership or influence. Would you be good enough to name five people in responsible positions with whom you sometimes discuss national development in Colombia?

1. ______________________ of ______________________
2. ______________________ of ______________________
3. ______________________ of ______________________
4. ______________________ of ______________________
5. ______________________ of ______________________

G1. Lastly, would you please tell me something about your training: in what fields of study is most of your training concentrated?

G2. (COLOMBIANS ONLY) Did you happen to study in any countries other than Colombia? (Which ones?)

G3. (COLOMBIANS ONLY) How much have you traveled outside of Colombia?

☐ Not at all ☐ 1 or 2 trips ☐ several ☐ many

What countries have you visited?

About how much time have you spent outside of Colombia altoghether?

☐ 1 month or less ☐ more than a month, but less than a year

☐ more than a year

Those are all the questions I have. Are there any comments you would like to make about your previous statements or about the study we're conducting?

(BEFORE LEAVING, ESTIMATE THE RESPONDENT'S AGE AS WELL AS YOU CAN. DO NOT ASK.)

☐ under 40 ☐ in 40's ☐ in 50's ☐ 60 and over

Thank you. We are very grateful to you for giving your valuable time to this interview.

List of Programs

If you were responsible for preparing a "master-plan" for Colombian national development during the next decade, and if your resources permitted you to emphasize only four of these programs, which four would you choose to emphasize?

Please check 4

☐ Economic development. Increase in industrialization. Self-sufficiency in most manufactured products. Increase in exportation of manufactured products.

☐ Agricultural development. Land reform. Modern agricultural practices. Diversification of crops.

[ ] Elementary education. Reduction of illiteracy. More classrooms and more teachers for free, public elementary education.

[ ] Secondary education. More classrooms and more teachers for free, public secondary education. Changes in teaching methods in subject-matter in response to present needs.

[ ] University education. More opportunities for higher education. More rigorous standards of quality in higher education. Preparation of more graduates who are professionally competent and socially responsible.

[ ] Public works. Extension and modernization of roads, electricity, water supplies, sanitation. Improvement in the quality of public housing.

[ ] Public health and nutrition. Increase in number of physicians in under-served areas. More low-cost medical care for the people. Improvement in the nutrition of the people.

[ ] Political reform. Reform of government structure for greater efficiency. Political reform for greater popular participation.

APPENDIX II

CODING SCHEMES

APPENDIX II

CODING SCHEMES

The present research work has revolved around the respondents' definitions of development and their perceptions of the problems in the educational system, their proposed solutions, and their norms for defining problems as problems and solutions as practicable and effective.

What follows is a presentation -- in brief form -- of the coding schemes that were used on the questions on education and development.

Definitions of Development

Responses in terms of institutional capabilities, institutions, policy proposals, roles, attitudes, and values were made to the following questions: (1) "In your opinion, what new value is most worth having in Colombian society?" (2) "Here are some questions about national development in Colombia. First, when you discuss Colombian national development, what changes in the nation are you primarily thinking about?" and (3) "Perhaps you have already told me this in your previous comments, but do you have any 'philosophy of national development' that guided you in choosing among these programs?"

The theory behind the coding of the responses is presented in Chapter IV, especially pages 43-46. The pattern of coding decisions is shown in the decision tree presented in Figure 1.

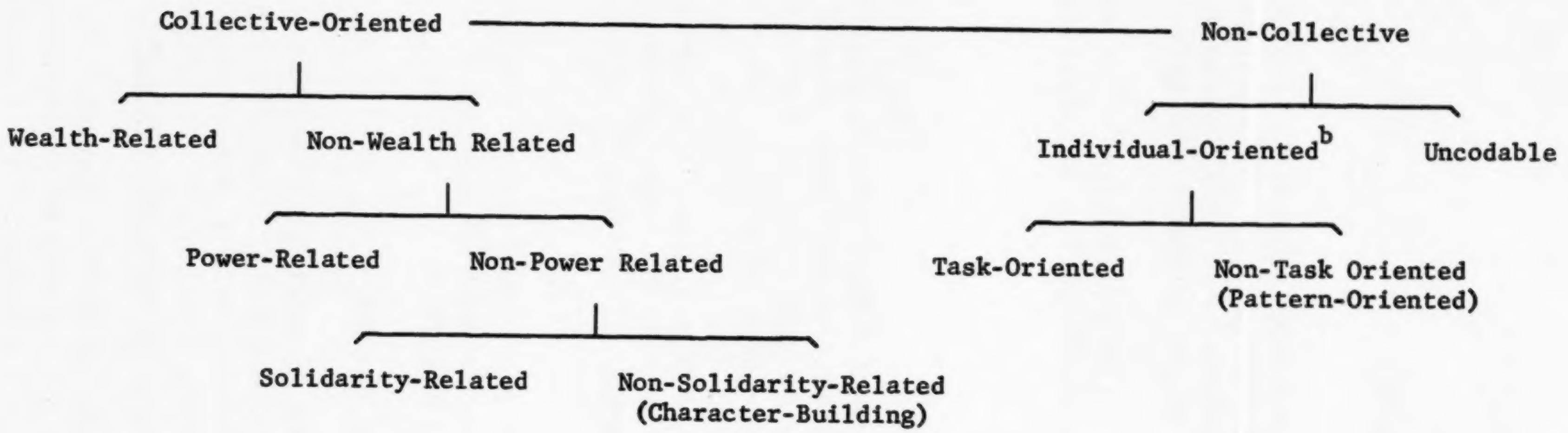
The decisional criteria were as follow:

1. The response was categorized according to whether it was collective-oriented or not. A collective-oriented response was defined as one which defines a state of positive membership whereby the norms and values of the larger social system are positively prescriptive of the actions of the individual, e.g., cultura, lengua, religion.

2. Collective-oriented responses were then assigned to wealth-related, power-related, solidarity-related, and character-building categories according to the following criteria arranged in a decreasing order of precedence: (a) if the response called for an increase or decrease in one or more societal capabilities, the response was categorized as a definition of development in terms of the said capability; (b) if the

FIGURE 1

Decision Tree: Definitions of Development[a]


Collective-Oriented
Non-Collective
Wealth-Related
Non-Wealth Related
Individual-Oriented[b]
Uncodable
Power-Related
Non-Power Related
Task-Oriented
Non-Task Oriented (Pattern-Oriented)
Solidarity-Related
Non-Solidarity-Related (Character-Building)

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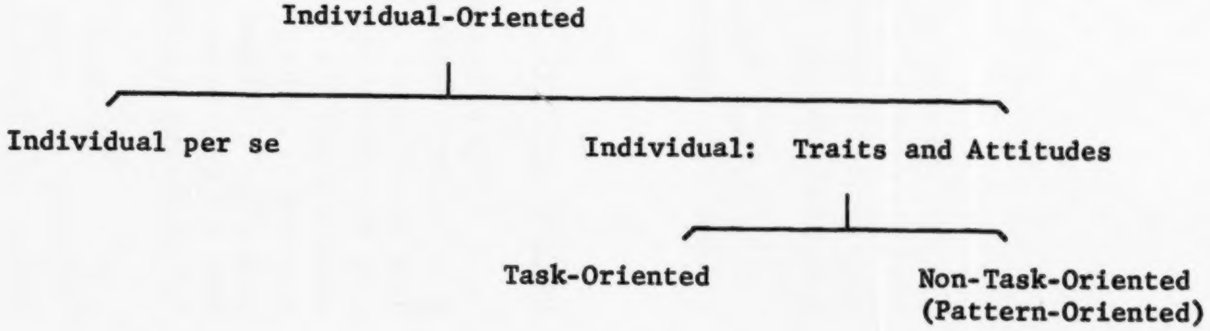
[a] Responses to the questions (1) "In your opinion, what new value is most worth having in Colombian society?" (2) "Here are some questions about national development in Colombia. First, when you discuss Colombian national development, what changes in the nation are you primarily thinking about?" and (3) "Perhaps you have already told me this in your previous comments, but do you have 'any philosophy of development' that guided you in choosing among these programs?"

[b] With respect to the third question, the decision tree was somewhat different. The differences are presented below:


Individual-Oriented
Individual per se
Individual: Traits and Attitudes
Task-Oriented
Non-Task-Oriented (Pattern-Oriented)

response referred to an institutional structure or an institutional position or role, the response was categorized as a definition of development in terms of the societal capability with which the institution or role is most closely related; and (c) if the response referred to an interchange between societal subsystems, the response was categorized as a definition of development in terms of the societal capability associated with the subsystem at the receiving end of the interchange.

3. Non-collective responses were categorized according to whether they were individual-oriented or not. An individual-oriented response was defined as one which defines the individual as relatively independent of the larger social system, with the norms and values of the larger social system merely setting limits on the individual's course of action, e.g., bondad, hidalguia, dinamismo. A non-individual oriented response was considered to be uncodable.

4. Individual-oriented responses were categorized according to whether they were task-oriented or not. A task-oriented response implies a distinction between means and ends on the basis of performance or achievement, future-orientedness (and acceptance of planning, a willingness to postpone rewards, a belief in progress and development), or a belief in personal efficacy.

It will be noted that since the structures associated with the character-building capability are families, households, and individuals, categorizing all individual-oriented responses under this category would be defensible. The project director, however, foresaw the possibility of future reanalysis of this data and for this reason, whenever he was faced with alternative coding schemes, he preferred to choose the coding scheme with more categories and then collapse the categories afterwards.

One example of this preference for coding schemes with more categories is that for the question on the respondent's "philosophy of development." As is noted in the footnote to Figure 1, there was a tendency among some respondents to base their philosophies of development on the individual qua individual. Because this rather frequent tendency might prove interesting in some future reanalysis, it was coded separately. But for the purpose of the present research work, an individual-qua-individual response was placed in the character-building category.

With three questions tapping the respondents' definitions of development, each respondent could name a societal capability up to three times. Respondents were categorized as follows:

1. A respondent who named or implied a societal capability at least twice was considered to have stressed it.

2. A respondent was considered to have emphasized task-orientation in his definition of development if he gave at least three wealth-related, power-related, and/or task-oriented responses (he could make a maximum of eight); he was considered to have emphasized pattern-orientation if he gave at least three solidarity-related, character-building, and/or pattern-oriented responses (also out of a maximum of eight).

3. A respondent was considered to have made a systemic definition of development if, in the course of his responses to the three questions, he had named each of the four societal capabilities.

Objectives of Education

Responses in terms of different types of roles, attitudes, and knowledge were made to the following questions: (1) "What would you say are some of the roles for which education should especially be preparing Colombian citizens now?" (2) "Is Colombian education inadequately preparing people for any of these roles?" and (3) "It is often said that the purpose of an education system is to produce 'well-educated' men and women. What do you think the term 'well-educated' should mean in Colombia?"

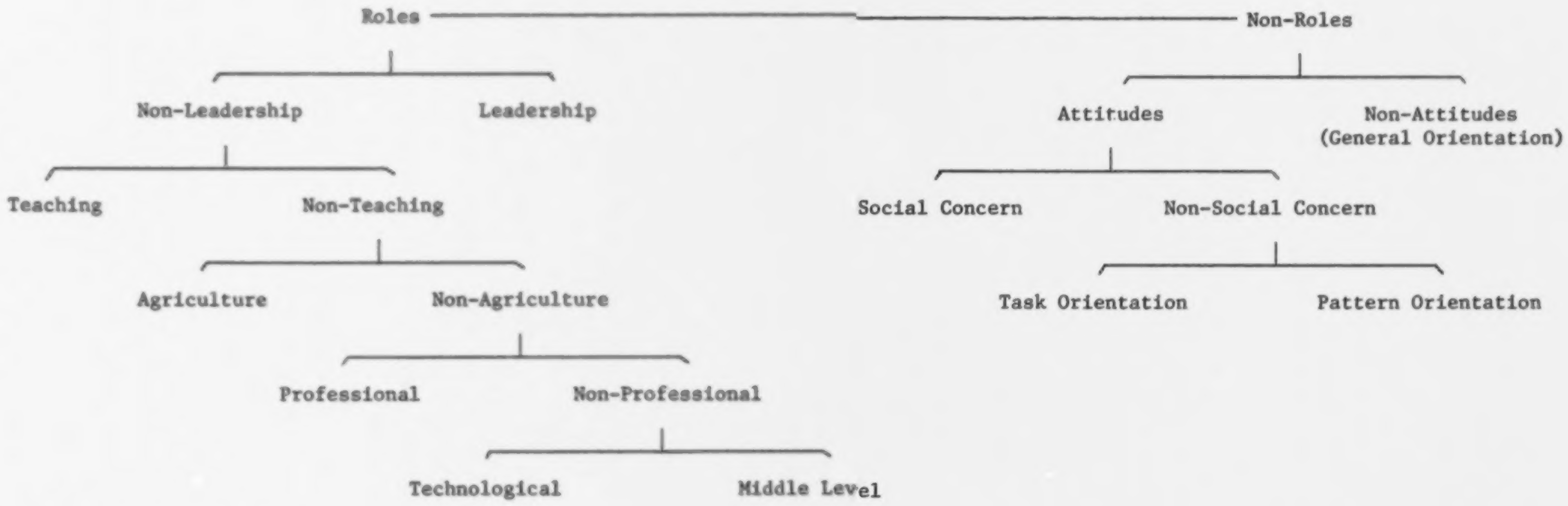
The following categories were distinguished from the first two questions (most respondents, in replying to the second question, referred the interviewer to the comments they had made on the first):
(a) leadership roles, (b) roles in agriculture, (c) roles in technology,
(d) middle-level economic roles, (e) professional and service roles,
(f) teaching roles, (g) social concern, (h) a "general" orientation,
(i) task-orientation, and (j) pattern orientation.

The decision tree is presented in Figure 2. The role categories and the social concern attitude category are straightforward enough. Task-orientation and pattern-orientation were defined in the same way that attitude responses to the questions on development were defined. The "general" orientation needs further clarification: it refers to a response which is neither an orientation nor a role -- merely a statement to the effect that education should prepare people who can live, adapt, adjust, or survive in the environment they find themselves in. A response was placed in this category if it was felt to imply a conformity adjustment standard.

The following categories were distinguished for the third question: (a) attitudes and values (unspecified); (b) social concern, (c) task-orientation, (d) pattern-orientation, (e) knowledge (unspecified), (f) social awareness, (g) practical knowledge, and (h) theoretical knowledge.

FIGURE 2

DECISION TREE: ROLES AND ORIENTATIONS[a]


Roles
Non-Roles
Non-Leadership
Leadership
Teaching
Non-Teaching
Agriculture
Non-Agriculture
Professional
Non-Professional
Technological
Middle Level
Attitudes
Non-Attitudes (General Orientation)
Social Concern
Non-Social Concern
Task Orientation
Pattern Orientation

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[a] Responses to the question,"What would you say are some of the roles for which education should especially be preparing Colombian citizens now?"

The decision tree is presented in Figure 3. It will be noted that the decision tree reflects the respondents' tendencies to distinguish between knowledge and attitudes, and between theory and practice.

For the purposes of the present work, the suggestions of leadership roles and teaching roles were retained and the other categories were combined as follows: (1) agricultural, technological, middle-level economic, and professional and service roles were combined into the category "economic roles"; (2) social awareness and social concern were combined into the category "social concern"; (3) the three task-orientation responses were combined into the category "task-orientation"; (4) the three pattern-orientation responses went into one category; and (5) the "general" orientation, the unspecified knowledge, and unspecified attitude responses went into one category.

Each respondent could thus make as many as three responses in each of these categories. One response was sufficient to code the respondent in any given response category.

Two other combinations were formed: a knowledge category -- consisting of the three possible knowledge responses, and an attitude category -- consisting of the three possible attitude responses. A respondent who made at least two knowledge responses was said to have considered education to have an informative function; one who made at least two attitude responses, a formative function.

Comments on Elementary and Secondary Education

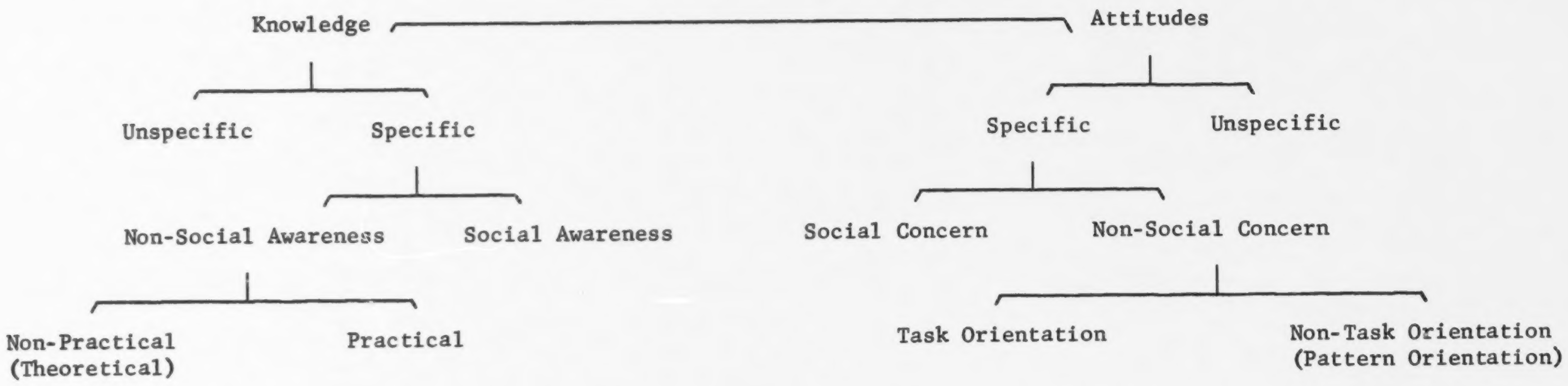
Responses in terms of methods and content were sought for the following questions: (1) "I would like to ask your attitude about the traditional teaching methods employed in Colombia. Would you like to see them changed -- and if so, what changes?" and (2) "Next, I would like to ask you about the subject matter -- the content -- of elementary and secondary education. Would you like to see changes in the subject matter -- and if so, what changes?" However, many respondents did not distinguish between content and methods. Many of the responses were criticisms of the teachers.

Fifteen relatively straightforward categories were distinguished which were combined into three groups:

1. Respondents were said to have cited problems if they pointed to: (a) rote-learning, (b) "enciclopedismo," (c) the rigidity of the curriculum, (d) the qualitative deficiencies of teachers, and (e) the lack of teachers. Respondents were categorized according to whether they had cited no problems, one, or two or more problems.

FIGURE 3

DECISION TREE: KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDES[a]


Knowledge
Attitudes
Unspecific
Specific
Specific
Unspecific
Non-Social Awareness
Social Awareness
Social Concern
Non-Social Concern
Non-Practical (Theoretical)
Practical
Task Orientation
Non-Task Orientation (Pattern Orientation)

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[a] Responses to the question, "It is often said that the purpose of an education system is to produce 'well-educated' men and women. What do you think the term 'well-educated' should mean in Colombia?"

2. Respondents were said to have cited programs if they had made one of the following proposals for educational reform: (a) a problem-solving approach, (b) active participation in the classroom, (c) use of media and audio-visual aids, (d) independent study, (e) more of technical and vocational education, (f) higher salaries for teachers, and (g) full-time teachers. Respondents were categorized according to whether they had cited no programs, one, or two or more programs.

3. Respondents were said to have cited standards if they judged the elementary and secondary schools by applying one of these three criteria: (a) concept formation, (b) relevance to the student's future life, and (c) relatedness to other course work. Respondents were categorized according to whether they made at least one of these responses.

Comments on University Education

Responses to the question, "And university education in Colombia: what kinds of changes would you like to see in university education, if any," took the form of criticisms and proposals, in fifteen relatively well-defined areas.

Criticisms were made in six areas: (a) course content, (b) teaching methods, (c) facilities, (d) administration, (e) teachers, and (f) students. The first four categories were said to be system-related criticisms. The other two categories were said to be personnel-related criticiams. Respondents were categorized in terms of whether they made at least one system-related or personnel-related criticism.

Proposals were made in nine areas: (a) "carreras cortas" (junior colleges), (b) graduate education, (c) technological education, (d) research, (e) reduction in the number of universities, (f) departmentalization of the faculties, (g) full-time teachers, (h) university autonomy, and (i) higher salaries. The first four categories were considered to be proposals for an expansion of university programs; the other five were said to be proposals for administrative reforms. Respondents were categorized according to whether they made at least one proposal for an expansion of university programs or for administrative solutions.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

APPENDIX III

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Abello, Gastón, Secretario General de la Cámara de Comercio, Barranquilla
Acosta, Jacobo, Presidente de la Andi, Barranquilla
Acuña, Luis Alberto, Pintor y Escultor. Director del Museo de Arte Colonial, Bogotá
Aguilar, Armando S. J., Rector del Colegio San José, Barranquilla
Aguirre, Isaías, Director encargado de Icetex
Alvarez Restrepo, Antonio, Ministro de Fomento
Alvarez Guerara, Darío, Secretario de Educación de Caldas, Manizales
Alvarez, Gloria, Representante a la Cámara por Boyacá
Angel Maya, Josué, Decano Facultad de Educación, Universidad del Valle, Cali
Arango, Daniel, Ex-Ministro de Educación
Arango Uribe, Arturo, Gerente de "Propaganda Sancho," Manizales
Arango Rodríguez, Rafael, Gerente de la Andi, Bucaramanga
Araujo Grau, Alfredo, Director "El Siglo," Bogotá
Arias Carrizosa, José Manuel, Representante a la Cámara por Santander, Bucaramanga
Aristizabal, Ramón S.J., Profesor Colegio Berchmans, Cali
Arizmendi Posada, Octavio, Gobernador de Antioquia, Medellín
Ayerbe Chaux, José Vicente, Abogado, Político, Cali
Azula Barrera, Rafael, Abogado, Politico, Bogotá

Balcazar Monzón, Gustavo, Senadar: Valle, Cali
Baron, Fernando, S.J., Rector, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
Baron, Migdonia, Representante a la Cámara, Bogotá
Barrios, Luis A., Jefe de la División de Educación Superior y Normalista. Ministro de Educación Nacional, Bogotá
Bejarano Diaz, Horacio, Representante a La Cámara por Cundinamarca. Academico de la Lengúa, Bogotá
Bernal Jaramillo, Pedro, Vicepresidente del Banco de Bogotá, Bogotá
Bernal Jiménez, Rafael, Rector del Instituto del Opus-Dei, Bogotá
Bernal Medina, Rafael, Secretario de Educación de Cundinamarca. Miembro de la Academia de Historia, Bogotá
Betancur Mejía, Gabriel, Ministro de Educación, Bogotá
Betancur, Belisario, Ex-candidato presidentcial, Bogotá
Betancur, Jorge, S.J., Decano, Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá

Buenaventura LaLinde, Eduardo, Industrial, Cali
Buitrago, Rubén, Secretario de Senaldi (Secretaría Nacional de Educación de la Iglesia), Bogotá

Caballero Calderón, Eduardo, Escritor, Bogotá
Caballero Uricoechea, Jaime, Presidente del Grupo Asegurador Tequendama, Albingia y Mercantil, Bogotá
Cabrera, César, General en retiro, Bogotá
Cabrera, Flabio, Magistrado, Corte Suprema de Justicia, Bogotá
Caicedo Jurado, Cecilia, Rector del Liceo Central Femenino, Pasto
Cala Hederich, Roso Alfredo, Decano de la Facultad de Ciencias de la Salud, Universidad Industrial de Santander, Bucaramanga
Camacho Rodriguez, Nemesio, Consejero de Estado, Bogotá
Camacho Rueda, Aurelio, Senador por Santander, Bogotá
Cano, Guillermo, Director "El Espectador," Bogotá
Cardenas Gutiérrez, Jorge, Sub-Gerente Federación de Cafeteros, Bogotá
Cardona, Rodrigo, Rector, Instituto Universitario de Caldas, Manizales
Carrasco, Ernesto, General en Retiro, Bogotá
Carvajal Salcedo, Adalberto, Presidente, Federación Colombiana de Educadores, Bogotá
Carvajal E., Alfonso, Decano de la Facultad de Ingeniería de la Universidad Nacional, Manizales
Carvajal, Manuel, Industrial, Cali
Carvajal, Mario Alonso, S.J., Vice-Rector, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
Casas Morales, Alfonso, Rector, Gimnasio Campestre, Bogotá
Castro Borrero, José, Gerente de la Andi, Asociación Nacional de Industriales, Cali
Cespedes, Cardona Aurelio, Director-Cordinador de los Institutos Nacionales de Educación Media Diversificada. Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá
Colwell, William E., University of Nebraska, Mission in Colombia-Director, Bogotá
Concha Cordoba, Luis, Cardenal Primado de Colombia
Consuegra, Eduardo, Alcalde de Barranquilla
Cotter, William R., Representante de la Fundación Ford en Colombia, Bogotá
Crilly, James, C.S.U., Rector, Colegio San Viator, Bogotá

De Arma, Pablo Padre, Ex-Decano Facultad de Educación, Universidad de Nariño, Pasto
De Cuadra, José Antonio, Ministro Consejero, Agregado Cultural, Embajada de España, Bogotá
De Lora, Cecilio R.P., Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (CELAM), Bogotá
Del Hierro, José Elías, Gerente, Caja de Crédito Agrario Industrial y Minero, Bogotá
Delgado Zambrano, Zoilo, Senador por Nariño, Bogotá
Duarte French, Jaime, Director, Biblioteca "Luis Angel Arango," Bogotá
Dugan, José Victor, Gerente de Industria de Automotores, Barranquilla

Erazo, Ciro, Rector, Universidad de Nariño, Pasto
Eusse Hoyos, Gerardo, Director de Icetex, Bogotá

Fals Borda, Orlando, Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Nacional, Bogotá
Fasoli, Guy, Agregado Cultural, U.S.A., Bogotá
Feliz, George, Jefe de la Misión de California, Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá
Fernandez, Juan B., Director de "El Heraldo," Barranquilla
Florez G., Federico, Director, "Fundacion Manuel Mejía," Manizales
Fonseca Siosi, Cristóbol, Senador por la Guajira, Bogotá
Franco Mejía, Artemo, Gerente de Tec-vivienda del Valle, Director de la Cruz Ròja, Cali
Franco Arbelaez, Augusto, Jefe, Division de Planeación. Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá
Franco Ruiz, Mario, Rector, Universidad "La Gran Colombia," Bogotá

Gaitan Mahecha, Abraham R.P., Director, Caja Vocacional, Bogotá
Gaitan Mahecha, Bernardo, Abogado Penalista, Bogotá
Galan Gómez Mario, Presidente Ecopetrol (Empresa Colombiana de Petróleos), Bogotá
Galeano G., Luis, Director Departamento de Idiomas, Universidad de Nariño, Pasto
Gerlein Y Villate, Rafael, Presidente de la Corporación Cívica, Barranquilla
Giezendanner, Werner, Business Manager, Building Materials Swiss Company, Pasto
GilTovar, Francisco, Decano Periodismo, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
Giraldo, Gabriel, S.J., Decano de Disciplina, Facultad de Derecho, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
Gomez Hurtado, Alvaro, Jefe, Alvaro-Alzatismo, Bogotá
Gomez Jaramillo, Arturo, Director de "La Patria" de Manizales
Gomez Martínez, Fernando, Subdirector del "Colombiana," Medellín
Gomez Hernán, Rector, Escuela Administración Pública, Medellín
Gomez Valderrama, Pedro, Ex-Ministro de Estado y de Educación, Bogotá
Gonzales, Simon, Fundación Ford, Bogotá
Gonzales Sorzano, Hernán, Gerente de la Nacional de Cigarrillos, Bacaramanga
Gonzalez, Miguel Angel, S.J., Decanco, Fac. Economía Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
Gonzalez, Simón, Gerente de INCOLDA, "Instituto Colombiano de Administración," Bogotá
Gotch, Paul, Representante British Council, Bogotá
Grant, Ulises J., Fundación Rockefeller, Bogotá
Groot Rubiano, Hernando, Vice-Rector, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá
Gutierrez, Alberto, S.J., Prefecto del Colegio Berchmans, Cali
Gutierrez B., Ernest, Consol de los Estado Unidos, Bogotá
Gutierrez Arango, Ernesto, Rector, Universidad de Caldas, Bogotá
Gutierrez Gómez, José, Presidente de la Corporación, Finaciera, Medellín

Hajj, Norman, Professor, Universidad de Nariño, Pasto
Henao Henao, Daniel, Jefe Division Académica, Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá
Henao Botero, Félix Mgr., Rector, Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín
Herrera, Jorge, Industrial, Cali
Hinestrosa, Fernando, Rector, Universidad Externado de Colombia, Magistrado Corte Suprema de Justicia, Bogotá
Holguin Sardi, Carlos, Representante a la Cámara por el Valle, Cali
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Ibarra, Isaías Hernán, Representante por el Valle, Cali

Janer Ruiz, Humberto, Decano, Facultad de Medicina, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá
Jaramillo, Alvaro, Presidente de la Corporación Financiera del Norte, Barranquilla
Jaramillo Ferro, Daniel, Presidente de la Bolsa de Bogotá
Jaramillo Vélez, Lucrecio, Rector, Universidad de Antioquia, Medellín
Jimenez, Alberto, Decano Facultad de Educación, Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, Tunja
Jimenez Cadena, Gustavo, S.J., Director del Centro de Investigación y Acción Social -- CIAS, Bogotá
Joyal, Arnold, Mision de California, Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá

Laserna, Mario, Rector encargado Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá
Libreros Lorza, Eleazar, Jefe, Educación Elemental y Alfabetización, Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá
Lievano Aguirre, Indalecio, Político, Escritor, Bogotá
Lombana Villegas, Manuel, Gerente "Empresas Municipales" de Manizales
Lopez Michelsen, Alfonso. Jefe M.R.L., Bogotá
Low Maus, Rodolfo, Fundación Ford, Bogotá
Lozano Simonelli, Fabio, Representante Cámara, Bogotá
Lleras Camargo, Alberto, Ex-Presidente
Llinas, Juan Pablo, Secretario General del Liberalismo; Senador, Bogotá
Llinás Pimienta, Nicolás, Decano, Facultad de Educación, Universidad Libre, Bogotá
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Lloreda, Rodrigo, Subdirector "El País," Cali

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Marquez, Campo Elías, Director, Departamento de Educación, Universidad Nacional, Bogotá
Martinez Caballero, Alejandro, Representante a la Cámara por Magdalena
Martinez Esponda, Eduardo, Jefe, Rama Técnica, Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá

Medina, Louis Eduardo R.P., Presidente, Confederación de Centros Docentes, Bogotá
Medina Teresa Madre, Decana, Facultad de Educación, Universidad Bolivariana, Medellín
Mercado, José Raquel, Presidente C.T.C. (Confederación de Trabajadores de Colombia, Bogotá
Montejo, Amanda Barrera de, Representante a la Cámara por Cundinamarca, Bogotá
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Montoya, Hernán, Director encargado de OAPEC, Bogotá
Moore, José Tomás, Jefe, División de Educación Media; Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá
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Morales Benítez, Armando, Representante por Caldas
Morales Benítez, Otto, Abogado, Bogotá
Moreno, Gustavo, Gerente Garantía S.A., Cali
Mosquera Garcés, Manuel, Presidente del Senado, Bogotá
Muvdi, Julio, Rector Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla

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Neglia, Angelo, Vice-Rector, Universidad, INNCA de Colombia, Bogotá
Nieto Bernal, Julio, Director del Programa de Productividad en Colombia, Bogotá

Obregon, Gregorio, Presidente, Compañia Colombiana de Seguros, Bogotá
Obregon Bueno, Julio, Gobernador del Departamento de Santander, Bucaramanga
Ocampo Londoño, Alfonso, Rector, Universidad del Valle, Cali
Ocampo Avendaño, Guillermo, Gerente de Seguros Atlas y Presidente del Directorio Liberal de Manizales
Ordoñez Quintero, César, Rector, Universidad Libre de Colombia, Bogotá
Ortiz, Severo, Rector del Colegio "Externado Nacional Camilo Torres," Bogotá
Ospina Delgado, Jorge, Gerente, Banco Cafetero, Bogotá

Parrish, Karl, Industrial. Co-fundador y Presidente de la Universidad del Norte. Corporación Financiera, Barranquilla
Pastrana Borrero, Misael, Ministro de Gobierno, Bogotá
Paternot, Anne Marie (Madre), Rectora Colegio Universitario del Sagdo. Corazón, anexo a la Universidad del Valle, Cali
Patiño Restrepo, José Félix, Director de la Federación Panamericana de Medicina, Bogotá
Peñalosa Camargo, Enrique, Gerente, Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria INCORA, Bogotá

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Perez Escobar, Luis, Gerente de la Compañia Suramericana de Seguros, Bogotá
Perico Cardenas, Jorge, Presidente del Consejo Nacional de Regulación Económica, Jefe Político Boyacá
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Quintana Cardenas, Alfonso, S.J., Decano Facultad de Educación, Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá

Recasens Tuset, José de, Profesor universitario; Periodista; Bogotá
Reyes, Cornelio, Senador, Bogotá
Rios, Edwin, Misión de California, Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá
Rodriguez Silva, Jaime, Secretario de Hacienda de Santander, Bucaramanga
Rodriguez Valderrama, José, Jefe División de Bienestar y Extensión. Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá
Roger Sister, O.S.F., Rectora, Colegio Sta. Francisca Romana, Bogotá
Rojas Scarpetta, Francisco General R., Miembro de la Sociedad Bolivariana de Colombia. Registrador Nacional del Estado Civil, Bogotá
Romero Hernández, Gustavo, Senador por Boyacá
Rueda Montaña, Guillermo, Rector, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá
Ruiz Novoa, Alberto General R., Ex-Ministro de Defensa

Salcedo, Joaquín Mgr., Director, Escuela Radiofónicas, Bogotá
Sanchez Araya, Rolando, Director de la UNESCO, Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá
Sanders, Olcutt, Director de los Programas Educativos de los Cuerpos de Paz, Bogotá
Sanin Echeverri, Jaime, Director, Asociación Colombiana de Universidades-Fondo Universitario Nacional, Bogotá
Sanint, Diego, Decano Facultad de Veterinaria Universidad de Caldas, Manizales
Santa, Eduardo, Escritor. Profesor: Universidad Nacional, Bogotá
Santamaria Dávila, Miguel, Gerente, Federación Colombiana de Ganaderos (Fedegan), Bogotá
Sardi Garcés, Luis Emilio, Alcalde de Cali
Schawn, Hubert, R.P., Caritas Arquidiocesana de Bogotá
Schevill, Karl, Mision de California, Asociación Colombiana de Universidades, Bogotá
Schmidl, Georg, Rector, Colegio Andino, Bogotá
Schtein, Edward, A.I.D.

Seeley, Clayton E., Director Encargado de Recursos Humanos, A.I.D.
Sevilla, Andrés, Decano Asistente, Facultad de Educación, Universidad del Valle, Cali
Silva Valderrmam, Mario, Gerente General de Ropa el Roble, Bacaramanga
Solorzano, Irene Jara de, Rectora, Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, Bogotá
Soto, Jaime, Periodista, Bogotá
Soto, Pedro Javier, Senador por Antioquia
Svenson, Gustavo, Jefe Planeación, Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá

Tooker S., Charles, Director Regional de los Cuerpos de Paz
Torres Quintero, Rafael, Sub-Director Instituto Caro y Cuervo y de Academia Colombiana de la Lengua, Bogotá
Tovar, Gustavo, Gerente del Movimiento de Reconstrucción Rural, Bogotá
Trejos Espinosa, Gabriel, Secretario de Hacienda del Departamento de Caldas
Trillos Novoa, Jaime, Alcalde de Bucaramanga
Trujillo Agudelo, Fabio, Ingeniero, Manizales

Uribe Arango, Hernán, Director del Fondo de Desarrollo y diversificación de Zonas Cafeteras, Manizales
Uribe Londoño, Oscar, Director General, Ministerio de Educación, Bogotá
Uribe Ferrer, René, Decano Facultad Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Bolivariana, Medellín
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